

## Culture as Identity during the T'ang-Sung Transition: The Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and Po-ling Ts'uis

In T'ang times, the surname Ts'ui 崔 was probably the most prestigious of all and the most associated with the notion of distinction. In the famous erotic story "The Dwelling of Playful Goddesses" ("Yu-hsien k'u 遊仙窟"), the female protagonist Shih-niang 十娘, whom the male protagonist Chang Wen-ch'eng 張文成 meets and courts in a remote mansion, claims to be a Ts'ui of illustrious ancestry.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, a Tunhuang document purporting to be a set of instructions provided by a mother for her daughter just before her wedding, calls itself "Née Ts'ui's Instructions to Her Daughter" ("Ts'ui-shih fu-jen hsün-nü wen 崔氏夫人訓女文").<sup>2</sup> Without question, it was so titled because the name Ts'ui lent a sense of legitimacy to the instructions. The prestige of the surname Ts'ui rested largely on the glorious status of two Ts'ui clans: the Ch'ing-ho 清河 Ts'uis and the Po-ling 博陵 Ts'uis.<sup>3</sup> Shih-niang even declares herself a descendant of both clans. In a patrilineal kinship system that forbade same-surname marriages, as it existed in T'ang China, Shih-niang's claim cannot be truthful. It only shows her ignorance of the distinction between the two

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<sup>1</sup> Chang Wen-ch'eng, "Yu-hsien k'u," in Wang P'i-chiang 汪辟疆, *T'ang-jen hsiao-shuo* 唐人小說 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987), pp. 23-24, 26.

<sup>2</sup> For a transcript of this document, see Kao Kuo-fan 高國藩, *Tun-huang ku-su yü min-su liu-pien* 敦煌古俗與民俗流變 (Nanking: Ho-hai ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1989), pp. 462-63. In the T'ang context, "Ts'ui-shih fu-jen" normally refers to a married woman whose natal name is Ts'ui. For examples of this kind, see "Wang-ch'i Ying-yang Cheng-shih fu-jen mu-chih-ming" 亡妻蔡陽鄭氏夫人墓誌銘, in Chou Shao-liang 周紹良 and Chao Ch'ao 趙超, eds., *T'ang-tai mu-chih hui-pien* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1992; hereafter *TIMC*), p. 2404; Ku Fang-su 顧方肅, "T'ang ku Chao-shih fu-jen mu-chih-ming ping-hsu" 唐故趙氏夫人墓誌銘并序, in Lu Hsin-yüan 陸心源, ed., *T'ang-wen hsü-shih* 唐文續拾 (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1962) 5, pp. 6b-7b.

<sup>3</sup> During the T'ang, the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, the Po-ling Ts'uis, and virtually all other aristocratic families were kin groups so large and differentiated that, strictly speaking, neither "clan" nor "lineage" is an appropriate designation. The word "clan" in this paper is used only for convenience. Patricia Ebrey gives a good sense of it, referring to T'ang aristocratic groups as "lineages[s] of identification"; *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1973), p. 93.

Ts'ui clans. Nonetheless, Shih-niang's blunder provides a useful opening for an examination of the power of the Ts'ui surname and the culture of identity.

This paper examines the cultural situation of the two Ts'ui clans during the ninth and early-tenth centuries – through the Later Chin of the Five Dynasties period (936–946). We concern ourselves particularly with two issues. The first is the decline of the medieval aristocracy. It is widely recognized that, during the era commonly known as the T'ang-Sung transition, many crucial historical changes occurred. One was the disappearance of the old medieval aristocracy concomitant with a restructuring of the elite class. I follow many Western historians who see China's medieval aristocracy as an assemblage of clans that had, for generations, enjoyed supraregional (if not national) renown and wielded various forms of social and political power.<sup>4</sup> The Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and the Po-ling Ts'uis were two of the most prestigious clans among this elite assemblage. Past studies of the medieval aristocracy centered on its history during the Period of Division (316–589 AD) and the first half of the T'ang (up to about 755), and have not explored deeply the decline of this dominant social group.<sup>5</sup> The study at hand deals only with a small portion of aristocratic life in the ninth and tenth centuries. I hope, however, that the details I have brought into tight focus will expand our understanding of a crucial change in Chinese history.

An enduring aristocratic class requires many resources, often a complex combination of wealth, status, and power. The fall of such a group, thereby, usually involves major changes in society. The well-researched decline of the British aristocracy in modern times illustrates this process.<sup>6</sup> In contrast, our image of the demise of Chinese medieval aristocracy is dim, and owing to the paucity of extant information, research will always be confronted by severe limitations. We know quite certainly that aristocratic families still were a salient presence late in the T'ang.<sup>7</sup> What roles did they play in late-T'ang social,

<sup>4</sup> Major studies of medieval Chinese aristocracy in English include David Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977); and Ebrey, *Aristocratic Families*. For a broader picture of the T'ang ruling class, see Denis Twitchett, "The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class: New Evidence from Tunhuang," in Arthur Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the Tang* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1978), pp. 47–85.

<sup>5</sup> On the final stages of the medieval aristocracy, only two English-language works exist: David Johnson, "The Last Years of a Great Clan: The Li Family of Chao Chün in Late T'ang and Early Sung," *HJAS* 37.1 (1977), pp. 377–403; and Ebrey, *Aristocratic Families*, chap. 5. Chinese and Japanese works on this subject are incomparably fewer than those on the earlier history of the medieval aristocracy.

<sup>6</sup> See David Cannadine's comprehensive account, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990).

<sup>7</sup> See Mao Han-kuang 毛漢光, *T'ang-tai t'ung-chih chieh-ts'eng she-hui pien-tung* 唐代統治階層

political, cultural, and intellectual life? How did they fare during the Five Dynasties? What was the course of their decline, and how are we to measure it? What were the causes of this decline, and how important was each cause in relation to others? Such questions are as complex as they are important, and an adequate understanding calls for persistent and collective scholarly research.

My investigation of the cultural situation of the Ts'ui clans is based primarily on the following assumptions. The medieval aristocracy took shape during the time of the breakdown of the Han empire and the rise of new kinds of participation in the court and in state offices by leading families during the Wei and Chin dynasties (that is, roughly during the third and fourth centuries). Many factors came into play, yet among them cultural distinction was often not crucial. By T'ang times, however, culture, by which I refer mainly to lifestyle and intellectual tendencies, played a major role in distinguishing the old aristocratic families, especially those rooted in the north, from other members of the ruling elite. Culture, in a word, was a significant part of the aristocratic identity. It was also a practical pursuit, because medieval China lacked the ideological support and institutional arrangements for the existence of a hereditary, privileged class.<sup>8</sup>

The two Ts'ui clans occupied the top positions among culturally conservative Shan-tung 山東 aristocrats. Following the assumption, set out above, concerning culture and aristocracy, therefore we can deduce that if the Ts'ui families of the late-T'ang had, to a significant degree, lost their traditional cultural characteristics, then the cultural distinction between aristocrat and non-aristocrat had disappeared before the actual disappearance of medieval aristocrats. A suggestion arising from all this is that cultural change was closely related to the decline of these families: consciously or not, in the ninth and tenth centuries they abandoned an important line that had separated them from the rest of society, thereby letting go a major aspect of status. If, on the contrary, we find that the ways of life of the Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis remained more or less intact, the implication may be that political, economic, and accidental historical developments were primarily responsible for the demise of the medieval aristocracy.<sup>9</sup>

社會變動 (Ph.D. diss., National Cheng-chih U., 1969); Sun Kuo-tung 孫國棟, "T'ang-Sung chih-chi she-hui men-ti chih hsiao-jung" 唐宋之際社會門第之消融, chap. 1 in his *T'ang-Sung shih lun-t'ung* 唐宋史論叢 (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1980).

<sup>8</sup> For a brief treatment of the cultural features of the T'ang northern aristocracy, see Tien T'ing-chu 田廷柱, *Sui-Tang shih-tsu* 隋唐宋史 (Sian: San-ch'in ch'u-pan-she, 1990), pp. 136–44.

<sup>9</sup> Without making detailed examinations, Patricia Ebrey suggested the possible importance of the cultural factor in the decline of the medieval aristocracy. Regarding T'ang great clans, she wrote: "To be of value, their ethos had to remain both distinctive and admired. ... [Yet] no

What is meant by the term "cultural features," which I use below? My definition of it as lifestyle and intellectual tendencies is not arbitrary. Scholars have indeed found that the maintenance of a refined, morally-oriented behavioral pattern and a tradition of learning within the family was a vital concern of medieval aristocrats in their heyday, that is, during the Period of Division.<sup>10</sup> One conspicuous example comes from reading Yen Chih-t'ui's 顏之推 (531–591?) *Family Instructions of Mr. Yen* (*Yen-shih chia-hsün* 顏氏家訓). This important writing on medieval aristocratic lives and attitudes, emphasizes two issues – the behavior and education of family members.<sup>11</sup> Such emphasis remained a cultural mark of aristocratic families in the following T'ang era.

Another subject this paper seeks to address is intellectual change as an aspect of the T'ang-Sung transition. I will not conduct a case-study of intellectual history, because extant materials concerning the two Ts'ui families are unsuitable for this purpose. The present study can make a contribution to intellectual history in another way. With knowledge concerning the general cultural tendencies of an important segment of the T'ang educated elite, various insights into these families might provide new information for the ongoing discussion of T'ang-Sung intellectual transitions.

Methodological challenges to my inquiry might easily arise and should be discussed at the beginning. Did the Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis behave corporately? If the answer is no, then is the subject of this paper legitimate? There are two ways of responding. First, a T'ang aristocratic clan was not a single entity; at the top level it consisted of some divisions (*chih* 支, *fang* 房, among other terms). The structure of each division was also fragmented, including numerous extended families with no formal ties to one another. In short, a clan, or any branch within this clan, lacked hierarchical authority over

matter how well the old families maintained their subculture, they could not prevent general cultural change." Also: "If they fully adopted current attitudes and mores, there would be no way to distinguish them from other T'ang bureaucrats; on the other hand, if they refused to change any aspect of their way of life and values, they would soon be viewed as eccentric and old-fashioned"; *Aristocratic Families*, p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> See Ch'en Yin-k'o 陳寅恪, "Sui-T'ang chih-tu yüan-yüan lüeh-lun kao" 隋唐制度淵源略論稿, in idem, *Ch'en Yin-k'o hsien-sheng wen-chi* 陳寅恪先生文集 (rpt. Taipei: Li-jen shu-chü, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 19–41; Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, "Lüeh-lun Wei-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao hsüeh-shu wen-hua yü tang-shih men-ti chih kuan-hsi" 略論魏晉南北朝學術文化與當時門第之關係, in idem, *Chung-huo hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang shih lun-t'ang* 中國學術思想史論叢 (Taipei: Tung-ta 'u-shu kung-ssu, 1977), vol. 3, pp. 171–85.

<sup>11</sup> Among the 20 chaps. in the *Family Instructions of Mr. Yen*, the longest is "Evidence on Writing" (*shu-cheng* 書證), which collects Yen Chih-t'ui's notes on various textual, philological, and other problems. The only other long chapters are "Customs and Manners" (*feng-t'ao* 風操) and "To Encourage Study" (*mien-hsüeh* 勉學), which discuss the problems of behavior and learning, respectively.

its constituents. At these levels, aristocrats clearly did not act in any coordinated fashion.<sup>12</sup> However, this question is not truly relevant to my exploration. This paper does not assume that the behavior of the Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis was corporate in nature. Merely for purposes of inquiry, they should be seen as members of a larger and looser "corporate body" – the Shan-tung aristocracy. It is undeniable that, in the T'ang conception, clans and their prominent branches were the basic constituents of the aristocratic class. Moreover, we should not assume that the Ts'uis lacked cohesion entirely. One indication to the contrary is that, as seen below, until the end of the T'ang many Ts'ui families still practiced exclusive marriage alliances, by and large forming such relationships with other leading Shan-tung families.

Another response I would like to make is that, although no large-scale kinship organizations existed within the Ts'ui clans, families likely still exerted profound influence on individual members. Extended families, particularly the descendants of a common grandfather (a patriline), were fundamental units in the life of the T'ang ruling class.

Studying the cultural situation of the Ts'ui families is not easy. Concrete and reliable information is difficult to find. Funerary inscriptions (*mu-chih-ming* 墓誌銘), most useful for the reconstruction of the history of aristocratic families, are only marginally relevant here, because these accounts are often idealistic in nature. I refrain from using funerary inscriptions as sources of Ts'ui-family culture, particularly those written by the relatives of the buried. Despite these restrictions, there is enough material available to observe an important aspect of aristocratic life in a critical transitional period.

## THE CH'ING-HO TS'UIS

My examination of actual cases begins with the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis. In this paper, identification of members of both Ts'ui clans relies primarily on the "Genealogical Tables of Chief Ministers" in the *New Tang History* (*Hsin Tang shu* 新唐書). These tables record the existence of six major branches of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis.<sup>13</sup> They provide information on three of the six branches for the late T'ang period: the "Ch'ing-ho senior branch" (*Ch'ing-ho ta-fang* 清河大房), the "Ch'ing-ho junior branch" (*Ch'ing-ho hsiao-fang* 清河小房), as well as the "southern ancestral branch" (*Nan-tsu Ts'ui-shih* 南祖崔氏).

<sup>12</sup> For descriptions of the general structure of medieval aristocratic clans, see Johnson, *Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, pp. 89–119. See also Ebrey, *Aristocratic Families*, pp. 90–93, 145; and n. 3, above.

<sup>13</sup> See *Hsin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Chung-hua shu-chü edn., 1975; hereafter *HTS*) 72C, pp. 2729–73, 2817. In addition to six main branches, a few minor subdivisions also appear in these tables.

The junior branch was clearly the most prestigious of all of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui subdivisions.<sup>14</sup> More important to the theme of my paper is that, by the late T'ang, this branch still maintained the distinct lifestyle of the traditional Shan-tung aristocracy. During late-T'ang, the most prominent "junior branch" family was the one sprang from the six brothers Ts'ui Pin 邠, Ts'ui Feng 鄆, Ts'ui Yen 鄆, Ts'ui Hsün 鄆, Ts'ui Shan 鄆, and Ts'ui Tan 鄆, most of whom were prominent figures in the late-eighth and early-ninth century. Tan served as a chief minister from 839-841; and Yen (768-836) became a highly respected leading official.<sup>15</sup>

Among T'ang historical writings, we find consistent praise for the conduct of all six brothers and their descendants. The Ts'ui brothers were known for filiality and for the harmoniousness of their mutual relationships. Four generations of the Ts'ui family lived together, constituting one single household. Another important characteristic of this family is the strict discipline in personal behavior that was required. Ts'ui Yen and Ts'ui Pin were said to have embodied the Shan-tung aristocratic ideal of "purity and frugality" (*ch'ing-chien* 清儉). Yen, in particular, distinguished himself by being frugal in his personal life but charitable toward others. During the T'ang both the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and Po-ling Ts'uis received frequent praise for purity and frugality. Whereas the idea of frugality is quite clear, that of purity is not so. In T'ang documents, it seems that purity refers to the observance of proper behavioral standards in both private and public life. In the area of public life, "purity" was especially related to the problem of corruption.

The Ts'uis' exemplary reputation at one time even earned them a personal commendation from emperor Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 (r. 847-859). As a gesture of his admiration for this family, Hsüan-tsung granted the Ts'uis a title for their study. He himself wrote for the plaque, "The Hall of Virtuous Stars" ("Te-

<sup>14</sup> See Liu Ch'ung-yüan 劉崇遠, *Chin-hua tzu* 金華子 (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1958) 2, p. 50; Wang Tang 王讓, *Tang yü lin* 唐語林 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1978) 4, p. 138; *Chiu Wu-tai shih* 舊五代史 (Chung-hua edn., 1976; hereafter *CWTS*) 58, p. 779.

<sup>15</sup> Contrary to all other information, the Ts'ui family's genealogical table in *HTS* (72C, pp. 2762-65) provides the names of eight, rather than six, brothers. This source is apparently incorrect. For more reliable information, see Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫, "T'ang ku ch'ao-san-ta-fu chien-chiao shang-shu Li-pu lang-chung chien yü-shih-chung-ch'eng tz'u tzu-chin-yü-tai Ch'ing-ho-hsien k'ai-kuo-nan tseng T'ai-shih Ts'ui-kung shen-tao-pei" 唐故朝散大夫檢校尚書吏部郎中兼御史中丞賜紫金魚袋清河縣開國男贈太師崔公神道碑, in *Liu Yü-hsi chi* 劉禹錫集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1990), p. 39. For Yen's career, see *Chiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Chung-hua edn., 1975; hereafter *CTS*) 155, pp. 4118-19; *HTS* 163, pp. 5017-18; Tu Mu 杜牧, "Li-pu shang-shu Ts'ui-kung hsing-chuang" 禮部尚書崔公行狀, in his *Fan-ch'uan wen-chi* 樊川文集 (rpt. Taipei: Han-ching wen-hua shih-yeh yü-hsien kung-ssu, 1983), pp. 207-11. For Tan's tenure as chief minister, see *HTS* 63, pp. 1725-26.

hsing t'ang 德星堂").<sup>16</sup> The story of Ts'ui Shan's death, again, points to the Ts'ui brothers' venerable reputation. Shan died suddenly, only days before the outbreak of the bloody "Sweet Dew Incident" late in 835, an incident which was closely linked to the office in which Shan was serving. His death thus freed the Ts'ui family from implication in the upheaval, which would have taken the lives of many courtiers. A popular phrase at the time held that Shan's "timely" death proved the superior moral qualities of the Ts'ui family.<sup>17</sup>

We should pause to reflect upon the relationship between moral reputation and actual behavior in the case of the Ts'ui brothers. Typical of most extant materials concerning family and individual life in T'ang times, the expressions cited above to denote the popular admiration for Ts'ui-family conduct are abstract and terse. It is hard to carve a well-defined image from them. Nevertheless, two issues warrant further pursuit. First, the fact that four generations of the Ts'ui family, including all of the Ts'ui brothers, lived together seems highly unusual. Scholars have found the size of families during the T'ang, on average, larger than in many other periods in Chinese history, such as the Han and the Sung. Quite understandably, the families of the ruling class were normally larger than those among the commoners.<sup>18</sup> However, it will be difficult to find cases comparable to the Ts'uis. For such a large number of people living together abundant economic resources are requisite. Yet one suspects that being rich was not the key to the existence of the huge Ts'uis household. It might be that they wanted to show that they had the necessary moral qualities to lead such a way of life.

Another intriguing item is the description of the Ts'uis as "frugal." Considering the wealth of the Ts'ui brothers, "frugality" is of particular note. Here again, it seems to be a clear indication of the Shan-tung aristocracy's tendency to define itself in a moral light, because frugality was a type of behavior contrary to its general economic condition.

Regarding the intellectual interests of the Ts'ui brothers, we are best informed about Yen and Pin. Both were well versed in canonical studies and

<sup>16</sup> Ch'ien I 錢易, *Nan-pu hsin-shu* 南部新書 (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng chu-pan kung-ssu; TSCC *hsin-pien* edn., vol. 86) 5, p. 43; *HTS* 163, p. 5019; and Wang, *Tang yü lin* 1, pp. 7-8, which mistakenly refers to the Ts'ui family as a Po-ling, rather than a Ch'ing-ho, family.

<sup>17</sup> For accounts about the cultural features of the this family, see *CTS* 155, pp. 4117-20; *HTS* 163, pp. 5016-19; Tu, "Li-pu shang-shu Ts'ui-kung hsing-chuang," p. 211.

<sup>18</sup> For a general investigation of the size of families in premodern China, see Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝, "Ch'uan-t'ang chia-tsu chieh-kou ti tien-hsing" 傳統家族結構的典型, in his *Ku-tai she-hui yü kuo-chia* 古代社會與國家 (Taipei: Yun-ch'en wen-hua shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1992), pp. 780-853. On the T'ang situation, see Chen Jo-shui [Ch'en Jo-shui] 陳弱水, "Shih-t'an T'ang-tai fu-nü yü pen-chia ti kuan-hsi" 試探唐代婦女與本家的關係, *CYYY* 68.1 (1997), pp. 216-26.

ritual affairs. In 818, Yen was assigned by the court to assist in a project of revising ritual regulations, on account of his proficiency in the area. In 826, together with a colleague, he compiled a collection of passages drawn from the Confucian classics concerning governmental matters.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, in 811, Pin played a significant role in settling a ritual controversy at court.<sup>20</sup> However, despite the brothers' apparent adherence to the old Shan-tung intellectual tradition, they gained phenomenal success in the *chin-shih* 進士 examination system, which valued principally the art of writing and was the most prestigious way of entry into officialdom in the mid- and late-T'ang. All six brothers received the *chin-shih* degree. Among the brothers and their sons, five had the opportunity to take charge of the *chin-shih* examination, for a total of seven times.<sup>21</sup> By T'ang standards, there could not be higher achievement for a family. In view of their close association with the *chin-shih* examinations, it is not surprising that certain Ts'ui brothers, chiefly Yen and Pin, were active in contemporary literary circles, Pin being considered particularly adept among his contemporaries.<sup>22</sup> In short, the cultural qualities of the Ts'ui brothers are mixed in character. The brothers displayed features traditionally linked to the Shan-tung aristocratic families: strict observance of Confucian behavioral codes in family life and intellectual aptitude for canonical studies.<sup>23</sup> Yet they also mastered the literary skills necessary for success in the larger world.<sup>24</sup>

The Ts'ui family was prominent throughout the T'ang and well into the Five Dynasties, producing many high-ranking officials. Ts'ui Hsieh 協, a great-grandson of Ts'ui Pin and chief minister under the Later T'ang dynasty (923–936), still had a reputation for filial conduct. However, he was also known, and

<sup>19</sup> *CTS* 155, pp. 4118–19; 158, p. 4165; *HWS* 59, p. 1513; 163, p. 5017. Early in 823, Yen also received the appointment of classics lecturer to Mu-tsung. See Wang Fu 王馮, *Tang hui-yao* 唐會要 (rpt. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1989) 57, p. 982.

<sup>20</sup> *Tang hui-yao* 57, pp. 991–92; *CTS* 171, pp. 4454–55.

<sup>21</sup> Hsu Sung 徐松, *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 登科記考 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1984) 14, p. 504; 27, pp. 1047–48; Chou Hsün-ch'u 周勳初 et al., eds., *Tang-jen i-shih hui-pien* 唐人執事彙編 (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi, 1995), p. 1038, a new publication and an extremely useful collection of anecdotes concerning T'ang figures.

<sup>22</sup> See Wu Ju-yü 吳汝煜, ed., *Tang Wu-tai jen chiao-wang-shih suo-yin* 唐五代人交往詩索引 (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi, 1993), pp. 448, 491; Li Han 李翰, "Ho-chung kuan-chüeh-lou chi hsiu" 河中鶴樓集序, in *Ch'üan Tang wen* 全唐文 (rpt. Taipei: Ta-tung shu-chü, 1979) 430, pp. 10b–11a.

<sup>23</sup> According to one source, for ritual performance of weddings and funerals, all Shan-tung aristocratic families, such as the Ts'uis, the Ying-yang Chengs 滎陽鄭氏, and the Fan-yang Lus 范陽盧氏, compiled their own manuals. See *Hsin Wu-tai shih* 新五代史 (Chung-hua edn., 1974; hereafter *HWS*) 55, p. 635.

<sup>24</sup> For more information on the cultural character of this family, see Lu Lun 盧倫, "Sung Ts'ui Pin shih-chi" 送崔郾拾遺, in Liu Ch'u-t'ang 劉初棠, ed., *Lu Lun shih-chi chiao-chu* 盧倫詩集校注 (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi, 1989), p. 71; Li, "Ho-chung," pp. 10b–11a.

ridiculed, for his dearth of learning.<sup>25</sup> From this account, we may infer that the tradition of learning in the Ts'ui family had lost considerable strength by the tenth century.

During the late-T'ang and the Five Dynasties periods, the junior branch of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis featured other prominent families. Ts'ui Ch'ün 群 was a famous literary man and chief minister from 817 to 819. His son Ch'ung 充 and two of his nephews also became high-ranking officials.<sup>26</sup> In comparison to the preceding case, information on the cultural features of this family is vague and sparse. Yet it is significant that Ts'ui Ch'ün's behavior was associated with Shan-tung aristocratic ideals. In his time, he was generally regarded as a man of high moral integrity, again, "frugal and pure" (*chien-su* 儉素).<sup>27</sup> Han Yü 韓愈 (768–824) even described him as "impeccable in word and deed," declaring him unequalled in this behavior.<sup>28</sup> Ch'ün and his son likely focused their intellectual pursuits on the art of writing. Ch'ün was a close friend of such prominent authors as Han Yü, Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元, Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫 (772–842), and Po Chü-i 白居易 (772–846). His son Ch'ung entered officialdom owing to his writing talents.<sup>29</sup> Another piece of information worth mentioning is that Ch'ün was interested in Ch'an Buddhism.<sup>30</sup>

The family of Ts'ui Kan 干 and Ts'ui Yen-chao 彥昭 was closely related to that of Ts'ui Ch'ün. Kan was a second cousin, and Yen-chao son of another second cousin.<sup>31</sup> Kan was an esteemed figure in his time, who was once charged

<sup>25</sup> *CWTS* 58, pp. 780–81; *HWS* 28, pp. 306–7; Sun Kuang-hsien 孫光憲, *Pei-meng suo-yen* 北夢瑣言 (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng; TSCC *hsin-pien* edn., vol. 86) 18, p. 144.

<sup>26</sup> See *CTS* 159, pp. 4187–90; *HWS* 72C, p. 260; 165, pp. 5080–82; *TIMC*, pp. 2318–20; Lao Ke 勞格 and Chao Yüeh 趙鉞, *Tang shang-shu-sheng lang-kuan shih-chu t'i-ming k'ao* 唐尚書省郎官石柱題名考 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1992) 10, p. 514.

<sup>27</sup> In *CTS* 159, p. 4190, Ch'ün's frugality and purity are mentioned disparagingly: namely, that Ch'ün's contemporaries said that when he was old he did not keep these virtues as rigorously as in his youth. However, throughout his life, Ch'ün generally maintained his reputation for purity. See Li Jung 李冗, *Tu-i chih* 獨異志 (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng; TSCC *hsin-pien* edn., vol. 86) 3, pp. 39–40.

<sup>28</sup> Han Yü, "Yü Ts'ui Ch'ün shu" 與崔群書, in *Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan-chi* 韓昌黎全集 (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng, 1977) 17, p. 147; Liu Tsung-yüan, *Liu Tsung-yüan chi* 柳宗元集 (rpt. Taipei: Han-ching wen-hua shih-yeh yu-hsien kung-ssu, 1982), pp. 588–89.

<sup>29</sup> For information on Ch'ün's connections with leading writers, one may consult Tai Wei-hua 戴偉華, *Tang fang-chen wen-chih liao-tso k'ao* 唐方鎮文職僚佐考 (Tientsin: T'ien-chin ku-chi ch'u-pan-sha, 1994), pp. 431–32. For information on Ch'ung, see *CTS* 159, p. 4190.

<sup>30</sup> See Po Chü-i, "Ta Hu-pu Ts'ui Shih-lang shu" 答戶部崔侍郎書, in Chu Chin-ch'eng 朱金城, *Pai Chü-i [Po Chü-i] chi chien-chiao* 白居易集箋校 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1988), p. 2806; Tsanning 贊寧, *Sung kao-seng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1987) 11, p. 250; 17, p. 425. The latter source was brought to my attention by John Kieschnick.

<sup>31</sup> There is some confusion about Kan's name. In *CTS* 159, p. 4190, and *Tang hui-yao* 58, p. 1002, Kan's name appears as Yü 于. This information is followed by an influential reference book: Fu Hsüan-t'ung 傅璇琮 et al., eds., *Tang Wu-tai jen-wu chuan-chi tzu-liao tsung-ho suo-yin*

with drafting imperial edicts.<sup>32</sup> More prominent even was Yen-chao, a *chin-shih* degree-holder of 849 serving as a chief minister in the mid-870s. Yen-chao had a reputation for being a profound scholar of the Confucian classics, a filial son and an unassuming, well-mannered person. In other words, he fit the image of a model Shan-tung aristocrat.<sup>33</sup> Yet it is clear that members of this family were also steeped in the art of literary composition. The family produced two top graduates of the *chin-shih* examination: Hsien 峴 (841) and Chiao 膠 (893).<sup>34</sup>

Within the junior branch, however, we also find evidence of behavior quite removed from the traditional Ch'ing-ho style. One case in point is the family of Ts'ui Chüeh 珽. A poet and good friend of Li Shang-yin 李商隱 (813-858), Chüeh is described as frivolous and wild in character, with a taste for brothels. It should be pointed out that this characterization is largely based on Chüeh's frequent visits to brothels with fellow *chin-shih* candidates or literary men.<sup>35</sup> He was simply following a common practice in the literary community of the late T'ang. The conduct of Chüeh's two sons, however, seems less forgivable. They were powerful bullies in Ching-chou 荊州, referred to by a local official as a plague in that region.<sup>36</sup>

Aside from this family, I found another member of the junior branch displaying conduct in conflict with Shan-tung ideals. This was Ts'ui Shih-pen 師本, active around the early-ninth century and one-time magistrate of Lo-yang county. He was famed for his skill as a gambler and chess player. Not surprisingly, he enjoyed his gambling.<sup>37</sup> I am not suggesting here that all or even most traditional Shan-tung aristocrats lived up to the standards they set for themselves, yet that they attempted to maintain this image seems certain. The significance of Ts'ui Chüeh, his two sons, and Ts'ui Shih-pen is that in their behavior they did not even pretend to be upright Shan-tung aristocrats.

References to the cultural features of the senior branch are meager. I have found only two noteworthy cases. The first is that of Ts'ui Kuei-ts'ung 龜

從, a chief minister from 850 to 851, who served under emperor Hsüan-tsung. Though active in literary circles, he was better known as an historian and a leading ritual specialist. This scholarly propensity, particularly his expertise in ritual practices and learning, indicates that he was, to a large extent, still the product of traditional northern aristocratic culture.<sup>38</sup> Another person named Ts'ui Lu 璐 was at one time, around the early 870s, an admirer of P'i Ji-hsiu 皮日休 and an aspirant writer embracing the cause of the *ku-wen* 古文 movement.<sup>39</sup>

The southern ancestral branch was much more prominent than the senior branch, producing two politically powerful families late in the T'ang. The first is the family of Ts'ui Ts'ung 從 and Ts'ui Neng 能. Brothers, Ts'ung and Neng were prominent officials in the 820s and 830s. From an early age, both carried with them the air of traditional Shan-tung aristocratic culture. During the late-eighth century, they passed ten years in remote mountains in the T'ai-yüan 太原 area (modern central Shansi), secluded from the outside world and devoted to study. After their father died, they fulfilled their mourning obligations by living in a hut by his tomb. These unusual deeds show, or were meant to demonstrate, the Shan-tung aristocratic emphasis on learning and filial virtue. After their entry into officialdom, at least Ts'ung continued to follow the old ways. He was praised by contemporary literati for not owning female musicians and dancing girls, a common practice among high-level T'ang officials.<sup>40</sup> Another piece of relevant information is that Neng and Ts'ung were maternal uncles of Liu Kung-ch'o 柳公綽, the head of a family considered in late-T'ang times to be an excellent model of aristocratic cultivation of proper conduct.<sup>41</sup>

The cultural features of the generation after Ts'ung and Neng are less

<sup>38</sup> For Kuei-Ts'ung's scholarly specialties, see *CTS* 176, pp. 4572-73; *HIS* 63, p. 1731; 160, p. 4976. For his connections with three leading contemporary poets (Po Chü-i, Liu Yü-hsi, and Hsiü Hun 許渾), see Wu, *Tang Wu-tai jen*, p. 470. Kuei-ts'ung's son Yin-meng 殷夢 was also a notable figure in the late-T'ang. See Wang, *Tang yü lin* 7, p. 232; Lao and Chao, *Tang shang-shu-sheng*, pp. 302-3.

<sup>39</sup> See Chi Yu-kung 計有功 (Wang Chung-yung 王仲鏞, ed. and annot.), *Tang-shih chi-shih chiao-chien* 唐詩紀事校箋 (Chengtu: Pa-Shu shu-she, 1989; hereafter *TSCS*) 64, pp. 1740-41; Lu Kuei-meng 陸龜蒙, "Feng-ho Hsi-mei ch'ou ch'ien-chin-shih Ts'ui Lu sheng-chih chien-chi yin-tseng chih i-pai ssu-shih yen" 奉和襲美酬前進士崔璐盛裝見寄因贈至一百四十言, in *Ch'üan Tang shih* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1960) 618, p. 7118. The character 璐 should be 璐.

<sup>40</sup> *CTS* 177, pp. 4577-79, 4581; *HIS* 114, pp. 4196-98.

<sup>41</sup> See *CTS* 165, pp. 4300-13; Chao Lin 趙璘, *Yin-hua-lu* 因話錄 (rpt. Taipei: Shih-chieh chu-chü, 1991) 2, p. 11. Liu's family belonged to the Ho-tung, rather than Shan-tung, aristocratic group. For a discussion of this family's lifestyle and status in the late-T'ang, see Takeda Ryūji 竹田龍兒, "Tōdai shizoku no kahō ni tsuite" 唐代士族の家法について, *Shigaku* 史學 28.1 (1955), pp. 93-97.

唐五代人物傳記資料綜合索引 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1982), p. 241, particularly nn. 3-4. However, based on the more reliable transcriptions of funerary inscriptions, his name should be Kan. See *TIMC*, pp. 2104, 2318. *CTS* also wrongly identified Kan as Ch'ün's younger brother.

<sup>32</sup> *CTS* 159, p. 4190; *Tang hui-yao* 58, p. 1002.

<sup>33</sup> For information on Yen-chao and his family, see *CTS* 178, pp. 4628-30; *HIS* 183, pp. 5380-81.

<sup>34</sup> Hsü, *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 22, p. 785; 24, p. 900.

<sup>35</sup> Fu Hsüan-ts'ung, *Tang ts'ai-tzu chuan chiao-chien* 唐才子傳校箋 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1990), vol. 4, pp. 101-2.

<sup>36</sup> Wang, *Tang yü lin* 2, p. 44; Sun, *Pei-meng suo-yen* 3, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> Wang, *Tang yü lin* 8, p. 275; Li Chao 李肇, *Tang kuo-shih pu* 唐國史補 (rpt. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1991) 3, pp. 61-62.

clear. Ts'ui An-ch'ien 安潛, Ts'ung's son and long-time regional governor during the 870s and 880s,<sup>42</sup> was said to have "pure virtues and a lofty reputation."<sup>43</sup> We also know that he was a faithful Buddhist and enjoyed watching bull-fights.<sup>44</sup> Ts'ui Shen-yu 慎由, An-ch'ien's brother and one time chief minister, had a reputation similar to his father's, of being "upright and kind" (*tsuan-kou* 端厚). In an imperial edict issued at the end of 858, Shen-yu's family was applauded as "a house of virtue" (*te-men* 德門), of "superior repute among gentlemen" (*chin-shen wei-wang* 搢紳偉望) and with "ritual and musical propriety in the highest form" (*li-yüeh shang-liu* 禮樂上流). This document refers also to Shen-yu's reputation as a writer of imperial edicts. The above information is somewhat vague, yet it seems to indicate that, in the eyes of their contemporaries, this generation of the Ts'ui family culturally still belonged to the great old Shan-tung tradition. Intellectually, their orientation seems to have been largely literary in nature (both brothers received the *chin-shih* degree).<sup>45</sup> However, at least Shen-yu was well trained in canonical scholarship. In the funerary inscription he wrote for himself, Shen-yu stated that early in life he studied the *Tso Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Book of Documents*, the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and Confucius' *Analects*. Prior to passing the *chin-shih* examination, he had already received the *ming-ching* 明經 (understanding the classics) degree.<sup>46</sup>

The best known figure in this family is Ts'ui Yin 胤, son of Shen-yu and leading official in the closing days of the T'ang. Yin was notorious for his role at court as the principal collaborator of Chu Ch'üan-chung 朱全忠, who would eventually overthrow the T'ang dynasty. He is condemned in both the *Old Tang History* (*Chiu Tang shu* 舊唐書) and the *New Tang History* as the principal traitor of the imperial court. Historians have no friendly words for Yin as a person either, describing him as crafty and sinister. We possess one solitary reference about his personal life. He was patron to a famous prostitute named Hsiao-jun

<sup>42</sup> See Wang Shou-nan 王壽南, *T'ang-tai fan-chen yü chung-yang kuan-hsi chih yen-chiu* 唐代藩鎮與中央關係之研究 (Taipei: Chia-hsin shui-ni kung-ssu wen-hua chi-chin-hui, 1969), p. 498.

<sup>43</sup> *Tai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記 (rpt. Taipei: Ming-lun ch'u-pan-she, 1971; hereafter *TPKC*) 237, p. 1824.

<sup>44</sup> *TPKC* 201, p. 1515; Fan Shu 范攄, *Yun-hsi yü-i* 雲谿友議 (rpt. Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1991) 3, p. 71; Wang, *T'ang yü lin* 7, p. 248. It is difficult to determine what problems watching bullfights posed for a Buddhist and for one who was a member of the Shan-tung aristocracy; the fact of the sport's existence in the 9th c., however, is certainly interesting.

<sup>45</sup> For the quoted phrases, see *CTS* 177, pp. 4579-80. For other relevant information, see *HTS* 114, p. 4198; Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求, ed., *T'ang ta chao-ling chi* 唐大詔令集 (Shanghai: Hsüeh-lin ch'u-pan-she, 1992) 50, p. 230; 54, p. 259.

<sup>46</sup> Wu Shu-p'ing 吳樹平 et al., eds., *Sai-T'ang Wu-tai mu-chih hui-pien* 隋唐五代墓誌匯編北京卷 (Tientsin: T'ien-chin ku-chi, 1991), vol. 2, p. 127.

小潤, spending lavishly on her and once making an inscription upon her leg.<sup>47</sup> In his lifestyle, Yin had apparently steered away from family tradition.

Another politically important family from the southern ancestral branch was that of Ts'ui Chao-wei 昭緯. Like Ts'ui Yin, Chao-wei, a chief minister from 891 to 895, was a major collaborator with recalcitrant warlords. We have almost no concrete information about the cultural features of this family. We know that its members were extremely successful in the *chin-shih* examinations. Chao-wei and three of his brothers received the *chin-shih* degree. Two of them, Chao-wei and Chao-chü 昭矩, were actually top graduates.<sup>48</sup> A contemporary text also reports that one of the brothers, Chao-yüan 昭愿, was a frequent visitor to the famous prostitute Cheng Chü-chü 鄭舉舉.<sup>49</sup> It is likely that, intellectually and in lifestyle, the Ts'ui brothers were no different from their regular literary peers.

In addition to the above three branches, another family active in the mid- and late-T'ang, that of the brothers Ts'ui Hu 護 and Ts'ui Hsien 咸 (d. 834), may also have been related to the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis. According to the genealogical tables in the *New Tang History*, this family belonged to a minor branch of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis.<sup>50</sup> However, mysteriously, in two other sources, the brothers are referred to as Po-ling Ts'uis.<sup>51</sup> We know very little about the cultural life of this family, but it is significant that both Hu and Hsien were highly renowned poets in their time.<sup>52</sup>

In concluding the discussion of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, a few general comments are in order. First, it seems that, by the mid-ninth century, most of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis known to us still retained the Shan-tung aristocratic emphasis on propriety and discipline in personal life. Toward the end of the T'ang and

<sup>47</sup> For information on Yin's life and career, see *CTS* 177, pp. 4582-87; *HTS* 223B, pp. 6355-58. For his relationship with Hsiao-jun, see Sun Ch'i 孫榮, *Pei-li chih* 北里志 (rpt. Taipei: Shih-chieh, 1991), p. 32. We do not know how Yin's inscription was done or how long it lasted. In a friend's poem composed for Yin's act of inscribing, he is referred to as a Po-ling Ts'ui (ibid.). This may be the result of wrong information or, more likely, simply a customary way to refer to a Ts'ui with an aristocratic background. Ts'ui Chao-chü 崔昭矩, another member of the southern ancestral branch, was also referred to as a Po-ling Ts'ui in a work of the Five Dynasties period (Sun, *Pei-meng suo-yen* 11, p. 92).

<sup>48</sup> For information on the careers of the Ts'ui brothers, see *CTS* 179, pp. 4654-55; *HTS* 63, pp. 1748-51; Hsü, *T'eng-k'o-chi k'ao* 23, pp. 854, 876, 882; 24, pp. 894-95. According to *CTS* 179, p. 4655, Chao-wei had four brothers, but the *HTS* genealogy only records three (72C, pp. 2739-40).

<sup>49</sup> Sun, *Pei-li chih*, pp. 28-29. <sup>50</sup> *HTS* 72C, pp. 2748-49.

<sup>51</sup> *CTS* 190C, p. 5059; *TPKC* 274, p. 2158.

<sup>52</sup> *CTS* 190C, p. 5060; *HTS* 177, p. 5274; *ISCS* 40, pp. 1102-3; Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 et al., *Ts'ei-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 (rpt. Taipei: T'ai-wan chung-hua shu-chü, 1972) 729, p. 6a. The bibliographical chapter in *HTS* (60, p. 1607) and some other sources record the existence of Hsien's collected works of 20 *chü*, but none of his poems survives to this day.

during the Five Dynasties, however, this feature grew scarcer among the Ts'uis. Intellectually, some Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis in the late-T'ang continued to maintain a keen interest in canonical and ritual studies, yet one suspects that the art of writing now took center stage in the educational and intellectual life of most, if not all, of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui families. The issue of the Ts'ui families' relationship with the *chin-shih* examination is discussed below.

Second, regarding the question of morality among the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, our information speaks chiefly of reputation, and the relationship between rhetoric and reality is often difficult to determine. However, I would submit that, in the case of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis, neither for their contemporaries nor for later historians would any break between rhetoric and reality have been of fundamental importance. Moral superiority of the T'ang Shan-tung aristocrats was mainly a matter of perception – perception among the elite community at large as well as among Shan-tung aristocratic families themselves. The perceived moral superiority of Shan-tung aristocrats had much to do with these aristocrats' presentation of their behaviors and standards. Yet this is not to say that the moral reputation of Shan-tung great clans was totally unrelated to realities. One indication of this connection is the prevalence of the “family ritual annals” (*chia-li* 家禮) and “family regulations” (*chia-fa* 家法) among northern – not just Shan-tung – aristocratic families. These were the written rules of conduct composed for each family or lineage.<sup>53</sup> To assume that they were completely unenforced seems unreasonable.

Third, this paper deals primarily with the general cultural tendencies among members of the two Ts'ui clans. Yet this does not mean that individual choice did not exist. As already discussed, T'ang aristocratic clans were highly segmented, and only families (often extended ones) could exert direct authority over individuals. Moreover, during T'ang times, members of old aristocratic clans had ample opportunity to interact with other members of the ruling class. One should not, therefore, view the action of a Ch'ing-ho or Po-ling Ts'ui as a definitive reflection of overall values and conduct within the clan. Ts'ui Shih-pen's fondness for gambling, Ts'ui Ts'ung's and Ts'ui Neng's residence beside their father's tomb – both could be manifestations of personal inclinations. However, it is my considered opinion that the recognition of individuality should not prevent us from seeking collective patterns.

<sup>53</sup> For relevant information, see *HTS* 58, pp. 1491–93; 71A, p. 2179; *HWTS* 53, p. 635; Takeda, “Tōdai shizoku,” pp. 93–97. “Family regulations” could be an abstract idea, referring to a family's general requirement for its members' conduct; for example, see *HTS* 116, p. 4242.

## THE PO-LING TS'UIS

The “Genealogical Tables of Chief Ministers” in the *New Tang History* record four branches of the Po-ling Ts'ui clan: the “An-p'ing branch” (*Po-ling An-p'ing-fang* 博陵安平房), the “Po-ling senior branch” (*Po-ling ta-fang* 博陵大房), the “Po-ling second branch” (*Po-ling ti-erh-fang* 博陵第二房), and the “Po-ling third branch” (*Po-ling ti-san-fang* 博陵第三房).<sup>54</sup> I have not found information on the An-p'ing branch relevant to the subject of this paper, and this section will only treat the other three branches.

During the late-T'ang period, two prominent families existed in the senior branch. One was highly respected among scholar-officials, but never acquired much political power. The most famous member of this family was Ts'ui Yung 雍. Yung never reached high officialdom. Before committing suicide under imperial order in 869, he was the prefect of Ho-chou 和州, near present-day Nanking.<sup>55</sup> However, for reasons that are no longer clear, he was considered a leading cultural figure in his time. In fact, he and another person named Cheng Hao 鄭顥 dominated the contemporary intellectual community. Their approval of a young literatus' talent could easily bring him the sought-after *chin-shih* degree, a status that would attract many followers. The literary community surrounding the *chin-shih* examinations at Yung's time was even at times referred to as “the world of Ts'ui and Cheng.”<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, *chin-shih* degrees came easy for Yung's family. According to one report, Yung and his brothers held a total of eight degrees. Although the term “brothers” here definitely include first cousins, this was nevertheless a remarkable achievement.<sup>57</sup> Several of Yung's brothers became active officials, but none achieved his level of fame.<sup>58</sup> Yung was a major collector of paintings, and little else is known about his cultural pursuits.<sup>59</sup> One does, however, get a sense that Yung's and his family's unusual prestige had a great deal to do with their success in the

<sup>54</sup> *HTS* 72C, pp. 2773–2817.

<sup>55</sup> The court ordered Ts'ui Yung to kill himself for his alleged disloyal actions during the rebellion of P'ang Hsün 龐勳 (868–69). Yet, some reports indicate that an important factor behind Yung's death was chief minister Lu Yen's 路巖 enmity; see *CTS* 19A, pp. 664, 668–69; Liu, *Chin-hua tzu* 1, pp. 38–39, 42; Wang, *Tang yü lin* 7, p. 256. According to Sun, *Pei-meng suo-yen* 10, pp. 87–88, Ts'ui Yung was captured and executed by P'ang Hsün. This is apparently incorrect.

<sup>56</sup> Liu, *Chin-hua tzu* 1, p. 40; Wang, *Tang yü lin* 4, p. 138.

<sup>57</sup> See Liu, *Chin-hua tzu* 1, p. 42; *HTS* 72C, pp. 3781–83. We only know the names of three brothers who received the *tsi*.

<sup>58</sup> For information on Yung's family, see also *CTS* 162, p. 4215; *HTS* 72C, pp. 3781–82; 159, pp. 4962–63; Lao and Chao, *Tang shang-shu-sheng* 2, p. 86; 8, p. 448; 25, p. 944.

<sup>59</sup> Kao Yen-hsiu 高彦休, *Tang ch'üeh-shih* 唐閩史 (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng, TSCC *hsin-pien* edn., vol. 86) 2, p. 23. Not a single piece of writing by Ts'ui Yung survives to this day. A poem of



game of the *chin-shih* examinations, and not much with their descent from an old aristocratic clan.

Here, one should note that, in the mid-ninth century and even earlier, a family successful in the *chin-shih* examinations did not necessarily mean that its members were unusually talented in writing. Such success may only indicate their good connections within the examination system. At the latest by the 820s or the 830s, many families had done well in the *chin-shih* examinations for so long that they had formed an establishment that could easily benefit their younger members.<sup>60</sup> Certain Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'ui families apparently belonged to this group.

Another prominent "senior branch" family – that of the brothers Ts'ui Yüan-lieh 元略, Ts'ui Yüan-shou 元受, Ts'ui Yüan-shih 元式, and Ts'ui Yüan-ju 元儒 – was politically much more powerful than Yung's family. In the period between emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗 (821–824) and the Later Chin (936–946), for four generations, this family produced many *chin-shih* degree-holders and powerful officials, including three chief ministers.<sup>61</sup> However, extant information on their lifestyle and intellectual tendencies is limited. We know that Ts'ui Hsüan 鉉, a central figure in the family who twice served as chief minister (843–845, 849–855), was famous in his youth for poetry. He seems to have become a major patron of young writers later in his career.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, Hsüan apparently was serious-minded even in his private life. On one occasion, his wife was surprised when actors succeeded in making him laugh.<sup>63</sup>

A stress on propriety in this family seems to have continued well into the Five Dynasties. Ts'ui Cho 稅, Yüan-shou's great-grandson, was a high-ranking official during the Later T'ang and the Later Chin. In his youth he was known for his filial acts. He preserved his reputation as a well-mannered person throughout his life. It was reported that Cho even treated his servants and serfs according to rules of courtesy. He spoke sparingly and with great discretion. He is said to have held that talking not only easily caused emotional disturbance to others, but inevitably violated the taboos of another family (that is, the need to avoid words that were part of the names of the ancestors of those with whom one conversed). Such concerns perfectly reflect the values of

traditional aristocratic culture.<sup>64</sup> Intellectually, Cho was a good writer, and interested in classical and historical study as well.<sup>65</sup> We also have one passage on the personal life of Ts'ui Lun 倫, Cho's brother, stating that he was a devout Buddhist.<sup>66</sup>

Ts'ui Chieh 碣 was another notable member of the senior branch in the later part of the T'ang. A *chin-shih* degree-holder, in the mid-ninth century he once served as mayor of Lo-yang, and was known for his ability and righteousness as a civil administrator.<sup>67</sup> Public performance of individuals, however, is not used in this paper to gauge cultural tendencies.

The second branch produced one of the most powerful families of the late T'ang: the family of Ts'ui Kung 珙, a chief minister under emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 (r. 841–846). For three generations, a continuous stream of leading officials flowed from this family. Aside from Kung, this included Ts'ui Kuan 琯, Ts'ui Tsao 噪, Ts'ui Yü 璵, Ts'ui Tan 澹, and Ts'ui Yüan 遠. (Ironically, a chief political enemy of Kung was a fellow Po-ling Ts'ui – Ts'ui Hsüan.)<sup>68</sup> Only the fall of the T'ang brought an end to the fortunes of this family.

Ts'ui Kung's family was not just politically successful; its members were regarded as model scholar-officials. According to the *New Tang History*, it was hailed as "the best among scholar clans" (*shih-tsu chih kuan* 士族之冠).<sup>69</sup> Ts'ui Tan and Ts'ui Yüan, father and son, enjoyed a particularly good reputation. Although little survives about their cultural features, it is clear that the family's members were well-mannered and weighed filial obligations heavily. One story tells of Kung's great-grandmother, toothless in her old age, having been fed milk every morning for several years by a daughter-in-law. Apparently, this story became widely known, and was used as an exemplar in Liu P'in's 柳珉 written instructions to his family. (P'in was a grandson of Liu Kung-ch'ö, and, as mentioned earlier, theirs was one of the late-T'ang aristocratic families best known for strong emphasis on behavioral propriety.)<sup>70</sup> In addition, many Ts'ui

<sup>60</sup> In Yen Chih-t'ui's *The Family Instructions of Mr. Yen*, a long chapter on personal conduct includes many discussions of family taboos; Wang Li-ch'i 王利器, *Yen-shih chia-hsün chi-chieh* 顏氏家訓集解 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1993), chap. 6, pp. 61–69, 92, 112.

<sup>61</sup> *CWTS* 93, pp. 1231–33; *HWTS* 53, pp. 635–37. <sup>62</sup> *CWTS* 93, p. 1233.

<sup>63</sup> *HTS* 120, pp. 4320–21; *TPKC* 172, pp. 1266–67.

<sup>64</sup> *CTS* 177, pp. 4589–90; *HTS* 182, p. 5363. <sup>65</sup> *HTS* 182, p. 5364.

<sup>70</sup> See *HTS* 163, p. 5027; 182, p. 5364. Liu P'in's work has been lost, and it is not easy to determine its title. The bibliographical chapter of the *New Tang History* records a work by Liu P'in titled "Preface to the 'Family Instructions of Mr. Liu'" ("Liu-shih hsün hsü" 柳氏訓序). See *HTS* 58, p. 1485. Sun Kuang-hsien of the Five Dynasties mentioned that he had read it (Sun, *Pei-meng suo-yen* 12, p. 102). However, a Southern Sung writer cites another work referred to as "Liu-shih chia-hsün" 柳氏家訓. See Wu Tseng 吳曾, *Neng-kai-chai man-lu* 能改齋漫錄 (Chü-cheng ts'ung-shu edn.) 6, p. 8a. Judging from the title of "Liu-shih hsün-hsü," there should be a separate

Li Shang-yin written for him is the sole indication of his connection with historically known literary figures.

<sup>60</sup> See Fu Hsüan-ts'ung, *T'ang-tai k'o-chü yü wen-hsüeh* 唐代科舉與文學 (Sian: Shan-hsi jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1968), pp. 357–62; Hsü, *T'eng-k'o-chü k'ao* 19, pp. 1b–3b.

<sup>61</sup> *CTS* 72C, pp. 2788–90; 163, pp. 4260–63; *HTS* 160, pp. 4973–75; *CWTS* 68, pp. 900–1, 93, pp. 1231–33.

<sup>62</sup> See *TSCS* 51, pp. 1381–82; *TPKC* 170, p. 1249; 182, p. 1357; 202, p. 1524.

<sup>63</sup> Liu, *Chin-hua tsu* 2, p. 53. For anecdotes about Hsüan, see also Chou, *T'ang-jen*, pp. 1320–24.

family members were deeply immersed in literary composition. From the late-eighth century onward, for four generations, this family produced at least nine *chin-shih* degree-holders. It seems that they were to some degree influenced by the lifestyles of literary men of non-aristocratic background. One indication is a poem, written by Ts'ui Tan for a famous prostitute in Ch'ang-an.<sup>71</sup>

Ts'ui Hong-li 弘禮 (766–830) was another prominent figure from the second branch. He was a *chin-shih* degree-holder, too, and an important official during the early-ninth century, particularly in the '20s and the '30s. For a Po-ling Ts'ui, Hong-li was unusual in that, though possessing the background of a literatus, he was interested in military affairs and rose in his governmental career as such. Yet, in his early years he had been a close friend of Li Kuan 李觀 (766–794), a short-lived literary master and an early *ku-wen* proponent. Clearly, at that time, Hong-li was himself an active writer, and was considered a promising talent by his peers.<sup>72</sup> Some references lend insight into the cultural orientations of Hong-li's family members. Hong-li's eldest son was a Taoist clergyman.<sup>73</sup> Reportedly, his fourth son, Yen-wen 彦溫, was a generous man, enough so that within a period of a few years he squandered his entire fortune on his friends.<sup>74</sup> This kind of behavior was incongruent with the traditional Shan-tung teaching of frugality, and resembles more closely the lifestyle of a literary or military man from a non-aristocratic background.

In late-T'ang times, a "second branch" family that was considered a model for the community of scholar-officials during the eighth century, continued to be active. This was the family of Ts'ui Yu-fu 祐甫 (721–780). Yu-fu's was an exceedingly prestigious family in his time, known for its "purity, frugality, and observance of ritual laws" (*ch'ing-chien li-fa* 清儉禮法).<sup>75</sup> Though himself a *chin-shih* degree-holder, as a chief minister Yu-fu endeavored to resist the emerg-

ing trend of valuing literary talent over behavioral propriety in the selection of officials.<sup>76</sup> In other words, he was a defender of Shan-tung aristocratic values. His nephews Chih 植 and Leng 倭 were both top officials in the 820s and 830s.<sup>77</sup> No available sources allow us to judge whether as time went on the cultural features of Ts'ui Yu-fu persisted in the family. We only know that Chih was a specialist in the *Book of Changes*, and that Leng's son, Yen 巖, is described in the *Old Tang History* as a person of "uprightness and elegance."<sup>78</sup> Though sparse, this information does betray inclinations attributed to traditional Shan-tung aristocrats. It should also be noted that, among the three people just mentioned, only Yen received the *chin-shih* degree.

Another notable member of the second branch was Ts'ui Li-chih 立之. Li-chih was a famous and prolific poet in the early-ninth century. His works were greatly appreciated by Han Yü, and he maintained an exchange of poetry with Liu Yü-hsi and Yang Chü-yüan 楊巨源 (755–?), both major contemporary poets. Unfortunately, most of his writings have been lost.<sup>79</sup>

There seems to have been general agreement late in the T'ang and during the Five Dynasties that the third branch was the most respected subdivision among the Po-ling Ts'uis. Members of the senior and the second branches reportedly designated members of the third branch as "uncles."<sup>80</sup> In the ninth and tenth centuries, however, this branch produced only one politically prominent family, fewer than the other two branches. This was the family of Ts'ui Hsüan-liang 玄亮 (768–833). Hsüan-liang was a highly respected official in the early-ninth century. He also had two younger brothers, Ch'un-liang 純亮 and Yin-liang 寅亮, and two sons, Ch'u-yen 芻言 and Han-yen 罕言, who were *chin-shih* degree-holders.<sup>81</sup> Among the younger generations of this family, Ts'ui I-sun 胎孫 was most prominent. I-sun was already a well-known fig-

piece of writing called something like "Liu-shih chia-hsün." We do not know where the story of Ts'ui Kung's grandmother appears. I am grateful to Yang Lu for calling my attention to Liu's work.

<sup>71</sup> For general information on this family, see *CTS* 177, pp. 4587–91; *HTS* 182, pp. 5362–64; Sun, *Pei-li chih*, pp. 32–33; Liu, *Chin-hua tzu* 1, p. 40; Wang, *Tang yü lin* 4, p. 138.

<sup>72</sup> For information on Hong-li's early career as a writer, see Li Kuan, "Shang Liang Pu-ch'üeh chien Meng Chiao Ts'ui Hong-li shu" 上梁補闕薦孟郊崔弘禮書, *Ch'üan Tang wen* 534, pp. 2b–3b; Han Yü, "Li Yüan-pin mu-ming" 李元實墓誌, in *Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan-chi* 24, pp. 65–66. Ts'ui Hong-li was the same age as Li Kuan.

<sup>73</sup> "T'ang ku tung-tu liu-shou... Ts'ui-kung mu-chih ming ping-hsü" 唐故東都留守... 崔公墓誌銘并序, *TIMC*, p. 2124. For more on this family, see *CTS* 163, pp. 4265–66; *HTS* 72C, p. 2810; 164, pp. 5050–51; *TIMC*, pp. 2259, 2263–64.

<sup>74</sup> "T'ang ku Po-ling Ts'ui fu-chün mu-chih-ming ping-hsü" 唐故博陵崔府君墓誌銘并序, *TIMC*, p. 2364. Yen-wen appears as Yen-fu 彦輔 in his father's funerary inscription (*TIMC*, p. 2124). I cannot explain this discrepancy.

<sup>75</sup> *CTS* 119, p. 3437. There are a great deal of materials available about Yu-fu, his father Mien 馮, and his grandfather K'ai 睢. Unfortunately, not much information exists concerning the

state of this family in the 9th c. For an account of this family in the 8th c., see Ebrey, *Aristocratic Families*, pp. 96–99.

<sup>76</sup> *CTS* 119, p. 3440.

<sup>77</sup> Yu-fu had one daughter and no sons. After his death, emperor Te-tsung ordered Chih to be Yu-fu's son and continue the family line. See "Yu-T'ang hsiang-kuo tseng t'ai-fu Ts'ui-kung mu-chih-ming" 有唐相國贈太傅崔公墓誌銘, *TIMC*, p. 1823.

<sup>78</sup> *CTS* 119, p. 3444.

<sup>79</sup> The collected works of Han Yü preserve several essays and poems written for or in response to Li-chih; *Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan-chi* 4, pp. 63–64; 5, pp. 95–97; 7, p. 114; 13, pp. 94–95; 16, pp. 135–37; *wai-chi* 1, p. 60; *i-wen*, p. 106. Cf. also Liu Yü-hsi *chi*, p. 527; *Ch'üan Tang shih*, p. 3727; *TSCS* 43, p. 1193.

<sup>80</sup> See Liu, *Chin-hua tzu* 2, p. 50; Wang, *Tang yü lin* 4, p. 138. These works explain the habitual practice differently. The author of *Chin-hua tzu* held that it was purely due to the prestige of the third branch. Wang Tang, on the other hand, conjectured that it had to do with actual generational relationships within this clan.

<sup>81</sup> *CTS* 165, pp. 4313–14; *HTS* 164, pp. 5051–52; *TSCS* 39, p. 1051.

ure during the last years of the T'ang, reaching the positions of minister of personnel and minister of rites under the Later T'ang.<sup>82</sup>

In terms of cultural tendencies, Hsüan-liang displayed what one may call a "dualistic" character. On the one hand, he very much acted out the moral image of a Shan-tung aristocrat, but on the other was immersed in the literary culture. As a young man he slept on the ground on a straw mat, disregarding comfort, in a filial gesture of grief during the twenty-five-month mourning period for his father. He is said to have suffered serious rheumatism as a result, and was unable to perform formal obeisance (such as the kowtow) for the remainder of his life.<sup>83</sup> After becoming an official, Hsüan-liang was extremely respected among the national elite. His modest but principled personality won him wide praise.<sup>84</sup> On his deathbed, he instructed his sons to conduct his funeral affairs under the principle of economy and restraint. He further advised that filial and brotherly deeds were the best means to preserve a family.

The most dramatic manifestation of Hsüan-liang's adherence to Shan-tung traditions was his request to be buried in his ancestral hometown. On his deathbed, he remarked that, since the time of the T'ien-pao 天寶 reign (742-755), for the sake of convenience Shan-tung scholar-clans had buried their members in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, rather than in their hometowns. But his clan had refused to make such a change, and he desired to be buried in the ancestral graveyard of Fu-yang 滎陽 (present-day Tz'u county 磁縣, Hopei province). His will was carried out.<sup>85</sup> Hsüan-liang's statement here is essentially correct. By the mid-eighth century, most Shan-tung aristocratic families had made their homes in the two capitals. In the mid-ninth century, it was extremely unusual for a major Shan-tung aristocratic family to maintain its graveyard in the Hopei area, the original base of this group. An additional difficulty for Shan-tung aristocrats to maintain their family graveyards in Hopei was that, after the An Lu-shan rebellion, the entire region of Hopei fell to the *de facto* independent northeast warlords, products of the militaristic north Asian nomadic culture. Shan-tung aristocrats were in general loyal to the imperial court, and their cultural values could not have been further removed from these new rulers of their ancestral homes. Although Fu-yang is about 250 kilometers from Po-ling and not the "real" hometown of the whole Po-ling Ts'ui clan, it is still in the Hopei region. Hsüan-liang's request to be buried there,

<sup>82</sup> *CWTS* 69, p. 917.

<sup>83</sup> Po Chü-i, "T'ang ku Kuo-chou tz'u-shih tseng Li-pu shang-shu Ts'ui-kung mu-chih-ming ping-hsiü" 唐故魏州刺史贈禮部尚書崔公墓誌銘并序, in Chu, *Chien-chiao*, pp. 3749-50.

<sup>84</sup> See *CTS* 165, pp. 4313-14; *HTS* 164, pp. 5051-52.

<sup>85</sup> Po, "T'ang ku Kuo-chou tz'u-shih"; Chu, *Chien-chiao*, pp. 3749-50.

with his wife, conveys a deep concern for maintaining a distinct family identity and tradition.<sup>86</sup>

Yet in terms of social and intellectual connections, Hsüan-liang very much belonged to the community of literary writers, with particularly close ties to the group of poets led by Po Chü-i. The poems that he, Po Chü-i, and Yüan Ch'en 元稹 (779-831) wrote for one another were compiled into a single collection. Today, only two of his completed poems and several loose verses survive. Many poems composed for him, however, are still extant.<sup>87</sup> Hsüan-liang once told Liu Yü-hsi, another noted poet and close associate of Po Chü-i, that his three most cherished hobbies were poetry, string music, and wine.<sup>88</sup> These were the quintessential ingredients of a T'ang literary man's life. Moreover, Hsüan-liang's brothers - Ch'un-liang 純亮, Yin-liang 寅亮, and Jen-liang 仁亮 - were apparently all active in contemporary literary circles.<sup>89</sup> Among their friends in the literary community, many were outsiders in terms of aristocratic culture. By the standards of the T'ang national elite, two of Hsüan-liang's closest literary companions, Po Chü-i and Yüan Ch'en, could be viewed as having humble social backgrounds.

Hsüan-liang was also strongly religious. For most of his life, he was a devoted Taoist. Apparently an ordained ritualist, he performed various ceremonies, and interested himself with the gathering of herb and the mixing of elixirs, even compiling a collection of medical prescriptions.<sup>90</sup> Toward the end of his life, however, he became a follower of Ch'an Buddhism, accepting particularly the teaching of Hui-neng, founder of the Southern Ch'an school.<sup>91</sup>

Hsüan-liang's family, it seems, strove to adhere to basic Shan-tung values, but was equally influenced by the powerful literary culture of the time. In comparison with his grandson I-sun, Hsüan-liang deviated only minimally from

<sup>86</sup> For an insightful study of the problem of the "centralization" of T'ang aristocratic families, see Mao Han-kuang, "Ts'ung shih-tsu chi-kuan ch'ien-i k'an T'ang-tai shih-tsu chih chung-yang hua" 從士族籍貫遷移看唐代士族之中央化, in his *Chung-kuo chung-ku she-hui-shih lun* 中國中古社會史論 (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1988), pp. 235-337. Mao specifically discusses the case of Ts'ui Hsüan-liang's family, pp. 264-65, 336.

<sup>87</sup> See *HTS* 60, p. 1624; *Ch'üan Tang shih* 466, p. 5301; Ch'en Shang-chün 陳尚君, ed., *Ch'üan Tang shih pu-pien* 全唐詩補編 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1992), p. 1045; Wu, *Tang Wu-tai jen chiao-wang-shih*, pp. 459-60.

<sup>88</sup> *ISCS* 39, pp. 1050-51.

<sup>89</sup> *Ch'üan Tang shih* 377, pp. 4229-30; 378, p. 4238 (Meng Chiao's 孟郊 poems for Ch'un-liang); 378, pp. 4243-44 (Meng Chiao's poems for Yin-liang); 371, pp. 4171-72 (Lü Wen's 呂溫 poem, referring to Jen-liang as friend). According to the *HTS* genealogy, Jen-liang was Hsüan-liang's brother, but Po Chü-i refers to him as a cousin. See Po, "T'ang ku Kuo-chou tz'u-shih," p. 3750.

<sup>90</sup> *HTS* 59, p. 1563.

<sup>91</sup> For his religious life, see *CTS* 165, p. 4313; *HTS* 164, p. 5052; *TIMC* 73, p. 460; Fan, *Yün-hsi yu-i* 2, pp. 29-30; Sun, *Pei-meng suo-yen* 11, p. 95; Po, "T'ang ku Kuo-chou tz'u-shih," pp. 3750-51.

the Shan-tung aristocratic tradition. I-sun was reportedly a greedy and stingy person. When an old man (in his eighties), his three sons occupied themselves with fighting over the father's property. They paid no attention to the care of their father, thereby violating an almost sacred Shan-tung value, filial piety. I-sun even wrote a letter to his sons, warning that after his death his spirit would seek to punish them. For this, I-sun became an object of ridicule among scholar-officials.<sup>92</sup> At the very end of the T'ang, an imperial edict lavishly praised I-sun for his distinguished family background and his supposed integrity.<sup>93</sup> These words are, without doubt, empty. The key observation I wish to make here is this: I-sun was not necessarily ethically inferior to many of his ancestors, but unlike them, he and his sons had abandoned any effort to create an image of moral decency. In this sense, they were merely and literally Shan-tung aristocrats by birth.

Finally, another family active late in the T'ang and during the Five Dynasties seems also to have belonged to the Po-ling Ts'ui clan.<sup>94</sup> Among the most famous figures of this family were Ts'ui An 黯 and Ts'ui Li 彝, both high officials in the 830s and 840s. These brothers displayed clear features of traditional Shan-tung aristocratic culture. Ts'ui An is known to have criticized the conduct of state and imperial family rituals for their lack of piety. When he asked that the situation be remedied, emperor Wen-tsung 文宗 (r. 827-840) concurred, although we do not know if he in fact ordered reforms.<sup>95</sup>

Like his brother, Li concerned himself with ritual matters. He persuaded Wen-tsung to abolish the long-standing practice of performing Buddhist rituals on the death anniversaries of earlier T'ang emperors. His reason was that this practice had no basis in the Confucian classics.<sup>96</sup> In conduct, Li stubbornly clung to the Shan-tung ideals of "purity and frugality." Though born of high station and successful in his career, he led a simple life, even denying to his sons and concubines the luxury of silk clothes. He declined gifts of money or cloth, accepting only tea and medicines.<sup>97</sup> The following incident reveals clearly

<sup>92</sup> *CWTS* 67, p. 917; Sun, *Pei-meng suo-yen* 19, p. 148, which claims that I-sun had two, rather than three, sons.

<sup>93</sup> *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 831, pp. 9b-10a.

<sup>94</sup> All records (except one) regarding this family indicate that it belonged to the Po-ling clan. See *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 718, p. 19b; *TIMC*, pp. 2382, 2467. In *HWTS* 55, p. 635, Ts'ui Li's grandson Chü-chien is referred to as a Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui. This family does not appear in the "Genealogical Tables of Chief Ministers" in *HTS*, maybe because it never produced a chief minister during the T'ang.

<sup>95</sup> *CTS* 117, p. 3404; *HIS* 144, pp. 4708-9. There is ambiguity in the language of *CTS* that records An's opinions on imperial ritual practices. For this matter, one should rely more on *HTS*.

<sup>96</sup> *CTS* 117, p. 3403; *HIS* 144, p. 4708.

<sup>97</sup> *TPKC* 182, p. 1354; *Yü ch'üan tsu* 玉泉子 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1958), pp. 19-20.

Li's values. Wen-tsung had been about to punish a certain Wei Wen 韋溫 for rejecting the office of Han-lin 翰林 academician, an influential appointment as the emperor's personal advisor. Li requested Wen-tsung not to do so, explaining that Wen was simply following his deceased father's instructions that he not work in the Han-lin Academy. Wen-tsung called the order absurd (*luan-ming* 亂命). Li responded that when a son followed his father's reasonable order, this already was "supreme filial virtue" 至孝. When he observed an absurd order, it deserved higher commendation. As a result of Li's advice, Wen-tsung decided not to punish Wei Wen.<sup>98</sup> Extant information on Li's life is modest in quantity, but passages uniformly indicate that he was a true believer in the teachings of Shan-tung aristocratic culture.

Despite their adherence to traditional Shan-tung values and interest in ritual matters, An and Li were also well-versed in the art of writing. Along with their two brothers, they each received the *chin-shih* degree. Furthermore, Li was at one time responsible for drafting imperial edicts, a task reserved for good essayists. As a young man, An had sought advice on writing from Liu Tsung-yüan. A letter in response to An's request is preserved in the collection of Liu's works. In the letter, Liu criticizes An for paying strict attention to literary technique and calligraphy, while ignoring the *tao*, which writings are meant to illuminate.<sup>99</sup> It seems that the younger generation of Li and An's family immersed themselves even more deeply in their writings. Both Ts'ui Jao 堯 and Ts'ui Chü-chien 居儉, Li's son and grandson respectively, were renowned authors. Unfortunately, nothing is known about their conduct, other than Chü-chien's excellent reputation at the Later T'ang court.<sup>100</sup>

Owing to a scarcity of material, it is difficult to offer a clear assessment of the cultural situation of the Po-ling Ts'uis. On the basis of the information mentioned above, we notice remarkable similarities between the Po-ling Ts'uis and the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis. Intellectually, by the late-T'ang, a majority of the Po-ling Ts'uis had already ignored the tradition of canonical studies, merging into the dominant trend of literary composition. In their family life, through the middle of the ninth century, many Po-ling Ts'uis continued the strict observance of Confucian rituals and behavioral codes, or succeeding in creating this image. Yet this distinctive, even defining, character of the Shan-tung aristocracy becomes harder and harder to trace by the end of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties.

<sup>98</sup> Chao, *Yin-hua lu* 1, p. 7.

<sup>99</sup> See *CTS* 117, p. 3403; Liu Tsung-yüan, "Pao Ts'ui An hsiu-ts'ai lun wei-wen shu" 報韋黯秀才論為文書, *Liu Tsung-yüan chi*, pp. 886-87.

<sup>100</sup> *CTS* 117, p. 3404; *HIS* 144, p. 4708; *CWTS* 57, p. 769; 127, p. 1667; *HWTS* 55, p. 635.

Here I wish to stress that it is not my intention to isolate literary and northern aristocratic cultures completely from each other. In actuality, canonical study was a basic element of a medieval elite education, and *chin-shih* examinations required a knowledge of the classics. At the same time, old northern scholarly clans had begun to venture into the art of writing by the end of the Period of Division, and in the early-T'ang produced several writers of national renown. However, it was manifest that literature was not a favored subject in traditional northern learning, and northern aristocrats embraced it under force of circumstance.<sup>101</sup> In the case of the Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis, despite their huge success in the *chin-shih* examination after the middle of the eighth century, their members, for the most part, played an obscure role in the world of creative writing. As for behavioral norms, intellectuals of non-aristocratic origins overwhelmingly supported Confucian values, and one can assume that many of them followed these values quite faithfully. Yet, they did not lay claim to a ritual purity or moral superiority.

#### INDIRECT INDICATORS

The previous sections have dealt only with the accounts that provide direct information on the cultural tendencies of the two Ts'ui clans in the ninth and tenth centuries. Now I would like to discuss some less pertinent information that may allow us to make reasonable conjectures regarding the lifestyles and ethos of members of the Ts'ui clans. In the following, I probe three problems using the approach just stated. The first is the relationship between old Shan-tung aristocratic families and the literati culture closely associated with the *chin-shih* examinations.

<sup>101</sup> For the spread of literary writing in the north before the founding of the Sui dynasty, one may consult Li K'ai-yüan 李開元 and Kuan Fu-jung 管芙蓉, *Pei-Wei wen-hsüeh chien-shih* 北魏文學簡史 (Tai-yüan: Shan-hsi jen-min ch'u-p'an-she, 1993); Ts'ai Tsung-hsien 蔡宗憲, "Wen-hsüeh huo-tung ti fa-chan yü Pei-ch'ao wen-hsüeh feng-ch'i ti hsing-ch'eng" 文學活動的發展與北朝文學風氣的形成, *Shih-yüan* 史原 20 (May 1997), pp. 146-53. For northern intellectuals' criticism of the southern literary tradition in the early-T'ang and before, see Mou Jun-sun 牟潤孫, "T'ang-ch'u nan-pei hsüeh-jen lun-hsüeh chih i-ch'ü chi ch'i ying-hsiang" 唐初南北學人論學之興趣及其影響, in his *Chu-shih-chai ts'ung-kao* 在史齋叢稿 (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1990), pp. 363-400. In his rich discussion of the introductions to the chapters of literary biographies in the eight histories of the Period of Division produced in the early T'ang, Peter Bol gives the impression that early-T'ang court scholars were speaking in one voice in expressing views on writing; "This Culture of Ours": *Intellectual Transitions in Tang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1992), pp. 92-104. Yet it appears that there were conflicting views among these scholars, and the introductions contain sharp criticisms of the southern literary tradition from a northern point of view. Famous early-T'ang writers of northern aristocratic background include Wang Chi 王績 (590-644), Wang Po 王勃 (650-676?), and Lu Chao-lin 盧照鄰 (634-686?). The two Wangs were from the same family.

As noted earlier, Shan-tung aristocrats distinguished themselves culturally by their strict observance of Confucian behavioral codes in family life and their intellectual preference for canonical studies. However, the *chin-shih* examination – during the majority of the T'ang era the most prestigious gate to power and fame for an educated man – emphasized writing skills, especially the composition of rhapsody (*fu* 賦) and poetry. In order to maintain their privileged economic and social status and to gain access to political power, members of the Shan-tung aristocracy had taken an active part in the *chin-shih* examinations since the early-eighth century, becoming increasingly successful during the ninth century.<sup>102</sup> The participation of Shan-tung aristocrats in these examinations nonetheless came at a potential cultural cost. Aristocrats might become forced to shift the focus of their intellectual training from canonical learning to literary writing. Moreover, a libertine lifestyle prevailed among the literary men of non-aristocratic background. The growing linkage of Shan-tung aristocrats with literary culture could easily result in damage to their image of austerity and seriousness.

The actual influence of literary culture on the Shan-tung aristocratic tradition is difficult to measure. Earlier in this paper I examined concrete information concerning this connection. Now, with a quantitative survey of the Ts'ui families' participation in the *chin-shih* examinations, I hope to draw a picture of the general situation. The following tables show the number of *chin-shih* degree-holders among the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and the Po-ling Ts'uis.

Because the extant information on successful candidates of the *chin-shih* examination during the T'ang and the Five Dynasties is fragmentary, the significance of such figures is not readily clear. In general, the figures further prove that both Ts'ui clans were deeply involved in the *chin-shih* examinations. Two points can be made in this regard. First, from the above information we can infer that the number of Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis passing the *chin-shih* examinations in the late-T'ang and the Five Dynasties is large. The above eighty-seven people are confined to the degree-holders from the Ts'ui clans about whom we know something. With a few exceptions, identification of Ts'ui clan members in this paper relies on a modest base, the "Genealogical Tables of Chief Ministers" in the *New Tang History*. There must be many Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'ui degree-holders whom I have left out. According to Hsü Sung's 徐松 *T'eng-k'o-chi k'ao* 登科記考, the most comprehensive collection of information on the civil examinations during the T'ang and the Five Dynas-

<sup>102</sup> See Mao Han-kuang, "T'ang-tai ta-shih-tsu ti chin-shih-ti" 唐代大士族的進士第, in his *Chung-huo chung-ku she-hui-shih lun*, pp. 339-63.

Table 1. No. of chin-shih among Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis (ca. 790-930)

BRANCH	NUMBER
Senior branch	5 <sup>A</sup>
Junior branch	22
So. ancestral branch	9
Other subdivisions	8
Total	44

<sup>A</sup>This number includes Ts'ui Yin-meng 崔殷夢, not listed in previous studies of T'ang chin-shih degree-holders. For Yin-meng's passing the examination and actually receiving top rank, see *Yü ch'üan* 22, p. 7; Hsü, *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 22, p. 821.

Table 2. No. of chin-shih among Po-ling Ts'uis (ca. 790-930)

BRANCH	NUMBER
An-p'ing branch	1 <sup>A</sup>
Senior branch	19 <sup>B</sup>
Second branch	18
Third branch	5
Total	43

<sup>A</sup>This is Ts'ui Chien 崔簡, Liu Tsung-yüan's brother-in-law, who received c.s. in 789; he died 812, thus not covered in this article. See *Liu Tsung-yüan chi*, pp. 231-32. Chien is only member of An-p'ing branch mentioned here.

<sup>B</sup>Number includes four brothers, or cousins, of Ts'ui Yung who received c.s. but whose names are unknown. See Hsü, *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 27, p. 1064.

ties, from 790 to 930, the period covered in the above tables, a total number of 2,933 candidates passed the *chin-shih* examination.<sup>103</sup> Assuming that the number of Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis who received the *chin-shih* degree during this time was 110 (by adding 23 to the known figure), which I believe to be a very low estimate, the degree-holders from these two clans constitute 3.75% of the total. This represents a major share in the *chin-shih* examination system.<sup>104</sup>

Second, the above discussion concerns only the men who passed the examinations. In the shadow of the amazing success of the Ts'ui clans, there must have lurked a multitude of failures.<sup>105</sup> There is no question that preparation for the *chin-shih* examinations was the leading educational enterprise within the two Ts'ui clans of the late-T'ang, and perhaps even during the chaotic Five Dynasties. Then, one may venture to guess that by the early-ninth century, in

<sup>103</sup> See Hsü, *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao*, vols. 2 and 3. During this period, the *chin-shih* examinations took place annually, with the exception of six years, thus the average number of successful candidates for each examination is close to 22. It should be noted that the number dropped considerably during the Five Dynasties, due to political instability and widespread turmoil. There are some inconsistencies in the numbers Hsü's book records. My number should only be taken as approximate.

<sup>104</sup> A more accurate way to measure the Ts'uis degree of success would have been to determine the percentage of the Ts'uis among all known c.s. degree-holders in the late-T'ang. Yet this cannot be done. For a large number of them we simply have no information on their passing dates. It is impossible to examine carefully each one's biographical information, as I did with the Po-ling Ts'uis and the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis.

<sup>105</sup> I can mention the name of only one such person: Ts'ui Li 崔驥. See Hsü, *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 24, pp. 909-10.

most families of the Ts'ui clans, the art of writing had replaced canonical studies as the primary subject of intellectual pursuit.

Next, I would like to explore briefly the role of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and the Po-ling Ts'uis in the factional struggles at the late T'ang court: that is, to see whether they allied themselves more with the Li Te-yü 李德裕 faction, which detested the "libertine" lifestyle of literary men, or more with the Niu Seng-ju 牛僧孺 bloc, which largely represented the forces of officials identifying themselves with the culture formed under the *chin-shih* examination. I have found evidence for the involvement of eight Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis in this struggle. Among them, six were clearly in opposition to the Li camp. These people were Ts'ui Ch'iu 球, Ts'ui Hsüan 鉉, Ts'ui Kuei-ts'ung 龜從, Ts'ui Yen-chao 彥昭, Ts'ui Yin-meng 殷夢, and Ts'ui Yüan-tsoo 元藻.<sup>106</sup> Only one Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui was close to Li Te-yü: Ts'ui Ts'ung 從. The position of another individual, Ts'ui Kung 拱,<sup>107</sup> is unclear. Kung seems to have allied himself with Li early in the 840s, but they later became estranged.<sup>108</sup> In addition, Ts'ui Tan 鄴 and his brothers were reportedly Te-yü's friends, but no information indicates that they were involved in the Niu-Li struggle.<sup>109</sup>

Our present knowledge about the Niu-Li struggle indicates a variety of causes. Today's scholars no longer characterize it as essentially a clash between old aristocratic forces and newly emerging literary men, as Ch'en Yin-k'o's 陳寅恪 classic work on T'ang political history did.<sup>110</sup> However, it is crystal-clear that Li Te-yü and some of his allies were deeply antipathetic to the whole *chin-shih* examination system and its culture as it then existed. As a powerful chief minister from 840 to 848, he initiated reforms of the examination.<sup>111</sup> Thus, our information appears to suggest that many Po-ling and Ch'ing-

<sup>106</sup> See Lao and Chao, *T'ang shang-shu-sheng* 3, p. 170 (Ts'ui Ch'iu); P'ei T'ing-yü 裴庭裕, *Tung-kuan tsou-chi* 東觀奏記 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1994) 2, p. 114; *TPKC* 269, p. 211 (Ts'ui Hsüan, Ts'ui Yüan-tsoo); Ch'ien, *Nan-pu hsün-shu* 10, p. 109 (Ts'ui Yen-chao); Wang, *Tang yü lin* 7, p. 232 (Ts'ui Kuei-ts'ung, Ts'ui Yin-meng).

<sup>107</sup> *CTS* 177, p. 4579.

<sup>108</sup> See *CTS* 165, p. 4311; 177, p. 4589; P'ei, *Tung-kuan tsou-chi* 1.90. T'ang Ch'eng-yeh 湯承業 discusses Kung's relationship with Li Te-yü, but his explanation is not convincing; *Li Te-yü yen-chiu* 李德裕研究 (Taipei: Chia-hsin shui-ni kung-ssu wen-hua chi-chün-hui, 1973), p. 51.

<sup>109</sup> *CTS* 155, p. 4120.

<sup>110</sup> For Ch'en's view, see his "T'ang-tai cheng-chih-shih shu-lun kao" 唐代政治史述論稿, idem, *Ch'en Yin-k'o hsien-sheng wen-chi*, vol. 3. For some new studies on the Niu-Li struggle, see Fu Hsüan-ts'ung, *Li Te-yü nien-p'u* 李德裕年譜 (Chi-nan: Ch'i-Lu shu-she, 1984); Wang Chung-lo 王仲華, *Sui-T'ang Wu-tai shih* 隋唐五代史 (Shanghai: Shang-hai jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1988), pp. 199-205, 213-25; Hu Ju-lei 胡如雷, "T'ang-tai Niu-Li tang-cheng yen-chiu" 唐代牛李黨爭研究, *LSYC* (1979.6), pp. 18-31; Chou Chien-kuo 周建國, "Kuan-yü Niu-Li tang-cheng ti chi-ke wen-t'i" 關於牛李黨爭的幾個問題, *Fu-tan hsüeh-pao* (1983.6), pp. 102-6.

<sup>111</sup> See Fu, *Li Te-yü nien-p'u*, pp. 277-80, 283-84, 496-97, 556-57; T'ang, *Li Te-yü yen-chiu*, chap. 8.

ho Ts'uis did not only enter the training and examination process that led to the *chin-shih* degree from career necessity, but that they assimilated the values prevailing in the literary community, which were quite contradictory to northern aristocratic ideals. In a prolonged political struggle, many Ts'uis stood against Li Te-yü, the self-proclaimed protector of Shan-tung values. However, the above information also exhibits the complicated nature of the Niu-Li strife. According to our earlier discussion, it is obvious that some of the Ts'uis in the Niu and Li Tsung-min 李宗閔 camp still honored the traditional Shan-tung lifestyle or intellectual preferences, people such as Ts'ui Hsüan, Ts'ui Yen-chao, and Ts'ui Kuei-ts'ung. I should note here that the only known Ts'ui in the Li bloc, Ts'ui Ts'ung, was also an adherent of the old Shan-tung tradition. His links with the Li party were compatible with his cultural attitudes.

In short, my investigation into the role of the members of the Ts'ui clans in the Niu-Li strife is inconclusive. However, let us for a moment assume that views on civil service examinations were a significant factor separating the members of the Niu faction from pro-Li officials. Then we may be able to say that, if the involvement of Ts'ui-family members in this power struggle is any indication, it suggests that the majority of the Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis in the late-T'ang believed that literary talent, rather than canonical training and behavioral propriety, should be the primary standard for the selection of elite officials.<sup>112</sup>

#### MARITAL PATTERNS OF THE TWO TS'UI CLANS IN THE LATE-T'ANG PERIOD

The third problem to be examined is the marital relationships of the two Ts'ui clans in the late-T'ang years. (No information on this is available from Five Dynasties sources.) Based primarily on Chou Shao-liang's 周紹良 *T'ang-tai mu-chih hui-pien* (*A Collection of Tang Funerary Inscriptions*), I found the following data, as given in the tables, below, after an explanation of terms.<sup>113</sup>

Before exploring the possible implications of these tables, I should explain the categories used for classifying the marriage partners of the Ts'ui families. "Leading Shan-tung families" basically refers to the so-called "families

forbidden to be intermarried," or the "seven clans." These are the most prestigious Shan-tung families that in 659 were ordered by emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 (r. 650-683) not to enter marital relationships with each other, for the purpose of curbing their pretensions and influence. Both Ts'ui clans belonged to this group.<sup>114</sup> "Other aristocratic families" refers to the families appearing on the list given by Liu Fang 柳芳 (fl. ca. 740-765) in his famous essay on the genealogies of medieval aristocratic families, but excluding Shan-tung families and those of North Asian origins.<sup>115</sup> "Well-known old families" simply designates the old distinguished families not found in the above-mentioned categories. The category of "other backgrounds" represents people outside aristocratic circles, such as those from newly arisen prominent families, local powerful families, and those from humble backgrounds. The "unknown" category includes spouses whose origins cannot be determined. Yet clearly, most of these spouses did not belong to the first or the second category.

Generally speaking, it is quite easy to determine the backgrounds of the spouses of the Ts'uis. I encountered only two obstacles. First, owing to the insufficiency of information, occasionally it is difficult to decide whether a person belonged to the category of "well-known old families" or that of "other backgrounds." Under these circumstances, I made judgments based on my own sense of how the individual seemed to fit. Second, even in the cases in which our information is clear, it may not be correct. It was rather common in the T'ang for people of obscure origins to represent themselves as coming from a prestigious clan of the same surname. However, without materials to prove otherwise, I had no choice but to accept my information at face value. One comforting fact I found in the process of investigation is that a great many data in funerary inscriptions are congruous with genealogical sources at our disposal.

As already indicated, information in the tables is drawn from funerary inscriptions dated during the period from 847 to 898. The first year of Hsüan-tsung's reign was 847; and 898 was the year when the latest inscription I used

<sup>112</sup> For this issue, see Mao Han-kuang, "Chung-kuo chung-ku hsien-neng kuan-nien chih yen-chiu jen-kuan piao-chun chih kuan-ch'a" 中國中古賢能觀念之研究任官標準之觀察, *CNY* 48.3 (1977), pp. 358-86.

<sup>113</sup> Aside from *TTCM*, the information in tables 3-10 is taken from 8 transcripts of funerary inscriptions collected in *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, one from Wu, *Sui-T'ang Wu-tai mu-chih*, Ebrey, *Aristocratic Families*, provides a considerable amount of data about marriages of the Po-ling Ts'uis during the T'ang (pp. 191-201). Newly collected inscriptions since her book's appearance have benefited my research and made a larger sample.

<sup>114</sup> The phrase "families forbidden to be intermarried" actually refers to specific branches of these seven clans: aside from the two Ts'ui clans, the Fan-yang Lus, the Ying-yang Chengs, the Chao-chün Lis 趙郡李氏, the Lung-hsi Lis 隴西李氏, and the T'ai-yüan Wangs 太原王氏. My classification places all members of these clans in the category of "leading Shan-tung families," regardless of the subdivisions to which they belonged. For a superb study on the topic of the "families forbidden to be intermarried," see Mao Han-kuang, "Chung-kuo Shan-tung ta-tsu chun-fang chih yen-chiu T'ang-tai chin-hun-chia yü hsing-tsu-p'u" 中古山東大族著房之研究唐代禁婚家與氏族譜, in his *Chung-kuo chung-ku she-hui-shih lun*, pp. 189-234.

<sup>115</sup> *HTS* 199, pp. 5677-78. See also Twitchett, "Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class," pp. 50-51.

Table 3. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui Men (Funerary Inscr.'ns. 847-98)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	16
Other aristocratic families	1
Well-known old families	2
Imperial, or north Asian old families	0
Other backgrounds	0
Unknown	0
Total	19

Table 4. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui Women (Funer. Inscr.'ns. 847-98)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	13
Other aristocratic families	2
Well-known old families	0
Imperial, or north Asian old families	0
Other backgrounds	3
Unknown	4
Total	22

Table 5. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Po-ling Ts'ui Men (Funerary Inscr.'ns. 847-98)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	2
Other aristocratic families	0
Well-known old families	2
Imperial, or north Asian old families	0
Other backgrounds	0
Unknown	0
Total	4

Table 6. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Po-ling Ts'ui Women (Funer. Inscr.'ns. 847-98)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	7
Other aristocratic families	1
Well-known old families	2
Imperial, or north Asian old families	5
Other backgrounds	4
Unknown	0
Total	19

was written. The information on the marriages of the Ts'ui families contained in these inscriptions concerns mostly the buried, but sometimes also their parents and even grandparents. Hence this information covers most of the ninth century.

As is well known, marital relationship was a principal factor in the constitution of aristocratic prestige in medieval China, especially in the case of eminent Shan-tung families. Marriage was a crucial method through which these families maintained their group cohesion and distinctive lifestyle. From the above tables, we can see clearly that a great majority of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis' spouses came from the traditional pool – other leading Shan-tung families.<sup>116</sup> It may be inferred that in the last century of the T'ang dynasty Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui families still by and large held a strong sense of Shan-tung aristocratic identity. They continued to keep social distance from other segments of the ruling class, not to mention the populace. Apparently this effort was not effective enough to resist the infiltration of outside cultural forces, but it might have prolonged the survival of their traditional learning and values.

The situation of the Po-ling Ts'uis is not so clear-cut. The information regarding the spouses of Po-ling Ts'ui men is too scarce to make any judgment. Among the spouses of Po-ling Ts'ui women, nearly half did not come from native Chinese aristocratic families. Because the Po-ling Ts'uis in the T'ang were not an active group of kin, the above data do not imply that the Po-ling Ts'uis, viewed as a whole, lost their aristocratic identity. Yet it is likely that certain Po-ling families no longer took seriously their membership in the Shan-tung aristocracy. They were quite flexible in choosing their marriage partners.

In order to give a more precise evaluation of the information in tables 3-6, I would also like to supply data about the marriage of the two Ts'ui clans in the earlier period.

Tables 7 and 8 show that the composition of the marriage partners of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis during the period in question is almost identical with that of the same clan in the following decades. It further supports the scenario I put forward earlier: namely, toward the end of the T'ang, Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui families in general still maintained their traditional marriage circles. In the case of Po-ling Ts'ui men, it is clear that they acquired their spouses mostly from the uppermost echelon of the old aristocracy. As to Po-ling women, because the figure of the spouses with unknown backgrounds is high, the implications of their data are a bit vague. If we remove this figure from our consideration, then the situation was that the majority of their spouses (10 out of 17) came

<sup>116</sup> The reason for Kao-tsung's order prohibiting intermarriage among leading Shan-tung families was specifically to prevent them from maintaining or enhancing prestige. Kao-tsung's policy failed completely. A funerary inscription for Ts'ui Ch'ui 崔惟 (father of the brothers Pin and Tan) by Liu Yü-hsi stated that the family had a tradition of confining its marriage partners to the Lun-hsi Lis and the Fan-yang Lus; *Liu Yü-hsi chi*, p. 40.



from top aristocratic families. Comparing this condition with that in the later period (table 6), one may conjecture that, in the last decades of the T'ang, some Po-ling Ts'ui families had given up efforts to sustain their superior social status.

From the marital relationships of the two Ts'ui clans in the late-T'ang period, a general point one can make is that the majority of the Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'ui families still strove to protect their old identity and their exclu-

Table 7. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui Men (Funerary Inscr'ns. 806-46)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	17
Other aristocratic families	0
Well-known old families	3
Imperial, or north Asian old families	1
Other backgrounds	0
Unknown	1
Total	22

Table 8. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui Women (Funer. Inscr'ns. 806-46)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	8
Other aristocratic families	3
Well-known old families	0
Imperial, or north Asian old families	2
Other backgrounds	2
Unknown	0
Total	15

Table 9. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Po-ling Ts'ui Men (Funerary Inscr'ns. 806-46)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	10
Other aristocratic families	3
Well-known old families	3
Imperial, or north Asian old families	1
Other backgrounds	1
Unknown	2
Total	20

Table 10. *Backgrounds of Spouses of Po-ling Ts'ui Women (Funer. Inscr'ns. 806-46)*

FAMILY STATUS OF SPOUSE	NO. OF SPOUSES
Leading Shan-tung families	7
Other aristocratic families	3
Well-known old families	3
Imperial, or north Asian old families	2
Other backgrounds	2
Unknown	5
Total	22

sive sphere of social connections. However, many forces beyond their control were undermining their efforts. Culturally speaking, the most formidable force of this sort may be the *chin-shih* examination system, which rendered their traditional intellectual pursuits almost irrelevant to success in the larger world.

## CONCLUSION

By comparing the cultural situations of the two Ts'ui clans, one may get the impression that the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis stuck more closely to the traditional Shan-tung culture than the Po-ling Ts'uis. Yet I am hesitant to make such a claim, because my samples may not be representative, and, again, neither the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis nor the Po-ling Ts'uis formed an active group of kin — they were clusters of families united symbolically by common ancestry and status. Thus, in what follows I offer tentative conclusions without making any distinction between these two clans.

It seems clear that by the ninth century both the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and the Po-ling Ts'uis had undergone a major intellectual reorientation. Preparation for the *chin-shih* examinations, which meant studying literary masterpieces and practicing the art of writing, had now become the core pursuit in the educational and intellectual activities of these two clans. Canonical studies had taken a back seat. In the realm of lifestyle, many Ts'ui families in the late-T'ang maintained the ideal of a "pure and frugal" life. Propriety and discipline in private life were still an important attribute of these families. In other words, many Ts'ui families were showing a "dualistic" cultural character. Regarding behavioral norms, they adhered to old standards; intellectually, they followed new trends. Some of the Ts'uis seem to have been aware of this situation. In a funerary inscription written by Ts'ui Ch'ün 群 (who belonged to the junior branch of the Ch'ing-ho clan) for his cousin, he states that their family members

were for generations lauded for their observance of ritual laws, filial virtue, and brotherly love among their clan members and marriage partners. Among official-scholars, they were known for their achievements in writing and matters of governance 代以禮法孝悌稱于族姻，文學政事聞于搢紳。<sup>117</sup>

Ch'ün composed this inscription in 819. More than forty years later, in 861, another member of Ch'ün's lineage wrote a funerary inscription for his deceased sister. In it, he said their recent (male) forebears "all were highly valued

<sup>117</sup>Ts'ui Ch'ün, "Cheng-shih chi-mei mu-chih-ming ping-hsi" in *TMC*, pp. 2040-41.

in their times for their virtuous behavior and literary achievements 皆以德行文學有重價於當世。<sup>118</sup> In both inscriptions, behavioral propriety and literary skills appear as the defining merits of the respective families. As pointed out at the beginning of this paper, funerary inscriptions are often representations of ideals rather than descriptions of actual behavior. Nonetheless, such documents are important for what they tell us about how the Ts'uis saw themselves. Furthermore, in the light of the information I presented concerning the cultural conditions of the Ts'ui families, the passages quoted above seem quite realistic.

It is important to note that what I have called a dualistic cultural character represents only an overall tendency among Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis. Apparently, late in the T'ang some families or individuals had already lost the traditional cultural features of the Shan-tung aristocracy altogether. This condition became intensified toward the end of the T'ang and after its fall. Increasingly, where we once read accounts of upright Ts'uis carrying out mourning rituals with exacting propriety and receiving thorough training in the classics, we read instead of Ts'uis who led lives of dissipation, spending their time composing poetry with prostitutes.

A few words may also be said about the relationship of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and the Po-ling Ts'uis with the religious currents of the T'ang. Based on the accounts in the first two sections of this paper and the funerary inscriptions of some obscure members of the two Ts'ui clans, I can make two points. First, there were devoted Buddhists and Taoists in these two clans. We see information on two Ts'uis being ordained as Taoist clergymen and more of them becoming Buddhist nuns and monks. It is clear that Buddhism won far more followers among the Ts'uis than did the Taoist religion. This was probably a reflection of the general situation.<sup>119</sup> Second, the records about the religious life of the Ts'uis are few in number. This seems to suggest that religious faith did not play an important role, or it failed to draw the attention of those who wrote about them.

In sum, the cultural attitudes and pursuits among the Po-ling Ts'uis and the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis in the ninth and tenth centuries were mixed. Their old tradition was eroded to a significant degree, but some elements remained alive and well, at least until the middle of the ninth century. My observations seem

<sup>118</sup> Ts'ui Kuei 崔瑰, "T'ang...Cheng-chün ku fu-jen Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui-shih mu-chih-ming ping-hsi" 唐...鄭君故夫人清河崔氏墓誌銘并序, *TIMC*, p. 2382.

<sup>119</sup> In addition to the first two sections of this article, above, see *TIMC*, pp. 2180, 2350-51, 2474-75, 2486.

to suggest that cultural change was a factor contributing to the general decline of the old medieval aristocracy, but probably not a leading one. The overall social and political environment in the T'ang was not conducive to the long-term flourishing of an aristocratic class, and many of the Ch'ing-ho and Po-ling Ts'uis had done well in protecting their lifestyle and well-being.

Finally, one may ask another question. What can knowledge about the cultural identity of the Ts'uis add to our understanding of the T'ang-Sung intellectual transition? On this question, I wish to make two points. First, in terms of the relationship between the Ts'ui clans and the intellectual scene at large, what basically happened was that the Ts'uis, together with other Shan-tung aristocrats, entered the literary community on a large scale but, at that same time, tried to preserve their own identity and values, until the outside forces were too great to resist. Thus, the effect of the Ts'uis' intellectual reorientation may be that they finally assimilated into the general intellectual community led by literary men, but also had a considerable impact on literary circles. One wonders whether the Confucian revival took place among literary men after the mid-eighth century had anything to do with the merging of members of northern great clans into the literary community. Certainly, my suggestion remains a hypothesis until research into the family backgrounds of the participants of the mid- and late-T'ang Confucian revival can be accomplished.<sup>120</sup>

Another point I would like to make pertains to Peter Bol's thesis. His book *"This Culture of Ours"* argues that the characteristic assumption of the medieval aristocratic worldview was to think of values as cultural forms (*wen* 文 in a broad sense), and that it was only later (after the An Lu-shan rebellion) that scholars would distinguish the ideas behind the forms from the forms themselves. The idea of cultural forms refers to the entire received tradition supposedly handed down from ancient sage-kings and Confucius, including ritual, textual, and literary elements.<sup>121</sup> Although such a context excludes religious currents, the view is nonetheless an enlightening one. Yet one wonders if Bol underestimates the diversity and tensions within the tradition of *wen*. In the case of the Ch'ing-ho Ts'uis and the Po-ling Ts'uis, it seems that they em-

<sup>120</sup> For intellectual change after the mid-8th c., see Bol, *"This Culture of Ours"*, chap. 4; Jo-shui Chen, *Liu Tsung-yüan and Intellectual Change in Tang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1986). Lo Lien-t'ien 羅聯添 already pointed out that almost all leaders of the *ku-wen* movement were northerners and that this movement most likely was rooted in the northern cultural tradition; "Lun T'ang-tai ku-wen yü-n-tung" 論唐代古文運動, in his *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh lun-chi* 唐代文學論集 (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 16-19.

<sup>121</sup> Bol, *"This Culture of Ours"*, pp. 2-3, 76-78.

braced literary practices very late in their history and under the force of circumstance. With a finer grasp of the relationships among various components of the tradition of *wen*, we shall be able to see not only the shape of changes in history, but also the dynamics of those changes.

*LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

<i>CTS</i>	<i>Chiu Tang shu</i> 舊唐書
<i>CWTS</i>	<i>Chiu Wu-tai shih</i> 舊五代史
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Hsin Tang shu</i> 新唐書
<i>HWTS</i>	<i>Hsin Wu-tai shih</i> 新五代史
<i>TPKC</i>	<i>Tai-p'ing kuang-chi</i> 太平廣記
<i>TSCS</i>	<i>T'ang-shih chi-shih chiao-chien</i> 唐詩記事校箋
<i>TIMC</i>	<i>T'ang-tai mu-chih hui-pien</i> 唐代墓誌彙編